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A
SERIES OF ESSAYS
ON
THE PRINCIPLES OF EVIL.

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A

SERIES OF ESSAYS

ON

THE PRINCIPLES OF EVIL

MANIFESTING THEMSELVES IN THESE LAST TIMES

IN

RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY, AND POLITICS.

BY

S. R. BOSANQUET, ESQ.

“AND I SAW THREE UNCLEAN SPIRITS LIKE FROGS COME OUT OF THE MOUTH OF THE DRAGON, AND OUT OF THE MOUTH OF THE BEAST, AND OUT OF THE MOUTH OF THE FALSE PROPHET.

“FOR THEY ARE THE SPIRITS OF DEVILS, WORKING MIRACLES, WHICH GO FORTH UNTO THE KINGS OF THE EARTH AND OF THE WHOLE WORLD, TO GATHER THEM TO THE BATTLE OF THE GREAT DAY OF GOD ALMIGHTY.”—REV. XVI. 13, 14.

LONDON:

JAMES BURNS, 17, PORTMAN STREET,
PORTMAN SQUARE.

1843.

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NOTICE.



THE first pages of this Work have already appeared in the BRITISH CRITIC. It was necessary to reprint them (with additions), in order to complete the series of Essays.

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ESSAY I.

INTRODUCTORY.

SIGNS OF IMPROVEMENT—SIGNS OF DECLINE.

NOTHING is more difficult than to determine whether society is advancing or retrograding: in another view, whether there is more good or evil in the world; which of them is increasing the most rapidly, and which is predominating. Perhaps this is a question which it is beyond the province of sound wisdom to endeavour to decide. It may be wiser to leave all comparisons, and to combat evil and promote good simply, wherever the opportunity may be found. It is also most difficult to compare past time with the present, and to resolve, upon the whole balance sheet of failings and improvements, whether the present times are worse or better than those which have last, or long before, preceded them. "Say not, Why were the former days better than these? for thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this."

Nevertheless in particulars we may praise or blame,

and hold up the mirror to society, and show to it its features in all their beauty and deformity, actual and comparative; and if our own opinions should creep out, of all or each of them, why, we need not much care to disguise or qualify them, when we see that a good purpose may be served by the disclosure.

Let us first review in outline the broad and prominent features to which those men would refer who contend that the world is advancing, and on which they rest their case, that it is tending to perfection. Let us then place before us some of the most obvious circumstances which make it doubtful, whether we be indeed advancing so rapidly and successfully as many sanguine theorists delight to hope, and venture to be assured of.

One thing that we are most certain of, is the great advance in civilization; the morals and manners of the world are year by year much refined and softened. I have especially the testimony of an officer who has been thirty years in India, and he assures me that the manners of the people are very greatly improved since he left England. Among the rich there is less swearing, drinking, indecency of habits and conversation. At table, or in the club-room, not an improper word is uttered, and religious topics may be discussed freely. In the streets the common people are well-behaved and orderly, and both in language and manners are becoming and decent. This is confirmed by other septuagenarians.

Look at the order with which the business, and the vast concerns and trade of this mighty empire, and its metropolis, are conducted; the ten thousands of vehi-

cles, and the hundreds of thousands of persons who daily crowd each other in our streets and offices, almost without inconvenience or impediment; uninterrupted by the pressure and importunity of thronging mendicants, and the sight of squalid misery,—and say, is not this the triumph of civilization! Look at the increased width of our main streets, the magnificence of the shop-fronts (2000 pounds for the front of a gin-palace, and 120 guineas for a single pane of glass), the splendour and taste and beauty of the articles exposed in them,—the sewers, the water companies, the gas lights, the wood pavements,—and say, are not these the triumph of civilization! Look at the general diffusion of comforts and luxuries,—the lowest orders well clothed, and making common use of the productions of the East and West Indies; the increased length of life, and great improvements in surgery and medicine, the accumulation of wealth, the extension of empire, the steam-engines, the rail-roads, the new sciences, the rapid discoveries, the progress of the fine arts, the power of machines, the triumph of mind over matter, the exaltation of the human mind, the triumph of intellect,—and say, is not all this perfect civilization!

But there are other points which philosophic and thinking men will approve even more highly than these. The progress in legislation and legislative wisdom stamps the era with a still higher character. The broad base which is being given to political government, by the extension of rights to the people; the elevation of the people to a fitness for those rights by political knowledge and education; the greater cheap-

ness of knowledge ; the appetite and effort to enjoy it, in mechanics' institutes and other societies ; the disposition to associate in large and friendly bodies for common purposes, whether clubs or otherwise ; the wonderful uniformity and simplicity—the very triumph of mechanic art—now being introduced into administrative government ; the solution of the deep perplexing problem of the poor, and poor relief ; the substitution of a simpler and better scheme of provision for the Church than that of tithes ; the expediting and cheapening of law proceedings ; the humanizing and softening the public mind and disposition, by a more lenient code and less frequent executions : by reformation instead of punishment ;—all these are proofs of unexampled progress in legislative wisdom and operation. And even these are exceeded by the ground gained in establishing the grand principle of toleration, the emancipation of the human mind from the dogmas of sects, and the authoritative opinions of churches in matters of religion, which can never attain to its power and perfection except under the perfect freedom and unfettered exaltation of the human mind and intellect—the great doctrine of liberty !

Let the still more sober and serious thinking observers reflect on the decline of avowed infidelity—scarcely such a person is to be found as a professed unbeliever ;—let them consider the much greater activity of the clergy ;—let them witness the increased number of church-goers, not women only, but men ; the vast subscriptions for building churches, which are rapidly growing in number on every side ; the increase of

charities ; the greater attention to the poor by visiting societies, and to their children in the factories ; the missions extending into and rooting themselves in all parts of the world, as though the conversion of the nations were now immediately to be accomplished ; the free, rapid, and constantly growing communication between the most distant parts of the earth ; the abolition of the slave trade ; the emancipation of slaves !

We must be dull and obstinate not to be concluded by all these evidences. But, nevertheless, as there must always be two sides to a question, I will first mention a few of the most obvious points which render the conclusion less certain at least ; afterwards I shall enter more searchingly into the particular principles by which the question must ultimately be resolved, whether we be indeed advancing, by long and hasty strides, to perfection,—or to ruin.

One thing is certain, that we are progressing rapidly. Whether in luxury and wealth, or knowledge, or art, or invention and discovery, or liberty and liberality,—all must confess that the ratio of advance has been and is increasing, and must increase with accelerating velocity ; and that the tendency, if not the end of all this, must very soon prove itself, for good or for evil. Let us endeavour to outstrip the very rapidity of this flight by a free but reasoned anticipation.

I will now invite attention to a few of the most prominent points which make it doubtful, whether our improvement in morals, religion, and prosperity, be really so rapid or general ; reserving, for more particular and detailed inquiry, the questions which must determine,

upon grounds of reason and principle, whether in each department and topic, and on the general balance of the movements of the social machine, things are in reality progressing towards a good or a bad conclusion.

The general morals are improved ;—but drunkenness is so increased that 30,000 persons are estimated to die annually from intemperance. The general manners are softened ;—but crime continually increases ; and a new police force is required, both in town and country, to repress the increasing crime and turbulence of the population. “ The riots and alarm consequent upon public meetings have increased the demands for the military force.” And as Lord John Russell goes on to say, in moving (July, 1839) for the rural police, “ Many districts have in the present time become peopled with a manufacturing and mining population, and in one of them the want of a police force has been so much felt, in consequence of the great increase in the number of crimes and depredations, and in the lawless habits of the disorderly part of the community, that, after two or three years’ complaints, two bills have been introduced into parliament during the present session, with the view of meeting the evil.”

The wealth of the nation is increasing vastly ;—but the revenue is hardly collected ; the public debt increases in time of peace ; and the country is more and more pauperized annually and hourly. Trade is more active and extensive, and shops are more splendid ;—but profits are everywhere lowered ; the difficulties of trade are greater ; and bankruptcies are multiplied. Luxuries and comforts are more in number in houses

and dress ;—but rents are lower ; and every one has greater difficulty in living, and maintaining himself in his own station. The poorest persons have shoes and stockings, and the labouring classes have comfortable and even elegant clothing ;—but labourers' wages are reduced from the value of twenty-four loaves to that of twelve and fifteen, in a period of a hundred and fifty years. Where once was sociable and merry England, we have care and caution in the countenance of the rich man, in the working man discontent, in the poor man misery and depression. Hospitality is well nigh forgotten. Education is extended, and political knowledge ;—but classes are more separated and distinct from one another ; men are more solitary, selfish, and individualized ; and chartists and socialists and pantheists rise up to deny the principles of society and humanity ; and the only excuse we have for it is, that we must go through great struggles and evils before we can arrive at the happy consummation. The struggles continue, but the end does not appear in sight.

Our political wisdom and mercantile progress have taught the world to cultivate the arts of peace ;—but the largest standing armies are maintained that ever existed ; the train has been laid for war and lighted, with every neighbour of our vast empire, and others than our neighbours ; and of late we were ready to fight with our most powerful ally, for the mode of effecting an object in which we were agreed. The emancipation of slaves is a great measure ;—but let us look at the children in our factories. Longevity is increased among the richer classes ;—but in Glasgow the

mortality has grown from one in thirty-six to one in twenty-five, in seventeen years; and in other towns nearly in the same proportion.

After the moral and social and political, we come to the religious improvement. And of this we must remark, that it cannot be classed with the rest, and used in aid of them; for it is antagonist to them. The religious movement is carried on by an opposite party to those who would rest the improvement of mankind upon the points which we have adverted to. The increased activity and influence of the Church is dreaded by these men. The clergy are hateful to them; and their name and opinions are hooted at in the House of Commons, by those who would halloo and hasten on the prevailing movement of society to the perfection towards which they think it tends, and deem it capable of.

The question here then is, whether religion and religious influence is able to contend with its opponent: is increasing faster than its antidote? Men are confessedly choosing their side; activity is in all quarters; each side is rallying itself and gathering strength; we are increasing our standing armies; we are ready and eager to rush to battle with a mighty and deadly collision,—though we are agreed upon the topic of improving and perfecting the condition of human nature.

The activity of the Church is greater than it was;—but so is that of Popery, Dissent, and Unitarianism. Many new churches are being erected;—but the population increases faster than the churches increase. Fresh attention is given to the poor by visiting societies; and inquiry is made into the condition of the children in

factories ;—but are any of these adequate to the growth of the evil, or are all of these things more than the necessities arising out of a very bad state and system ? or are they proofs of progress and soundness, any more than the use of doctors and strong medicines is the evidence of health ?* Where two spring up in the place of each one, the cutting off one or more of the hydra's heads is no evidence of his destruction.

The Sabbath is more strictly observed by some few ; but Sunday travelling has very greatly increased. A few country towns have refused to receive letters on Sunday ;—it is because the government proposed to transmit letters through London on that day. The tithe question is settled by a commutation ;—it is because the very name of tithes is hated ; and people were more ready to pay tithes even to the absentee lay-rector than to the resident clergyman. Pledges of temperance are taken, and of total abstinence ; but they are strong and artificial medicines, proving the aggravation of the disease.

Our missions of Christianity are extended everywhere ; but the curses of our commercial spirit always attend them, and are so great, that the monarchs of China and Sandwich are forced to prohibit on pain of death the gin and opium which the propagators of Christianity introduce ; and contact between European

* “ Where laws are many, voluminous, and intricate, 'tis a certain sign of a very unsound constitution : like a sick man's apartment filled with glasses and gallipots.”—*The Art of Government by Parties*, 8vo. 1701, p. 82. The vast digests of the Roman law were made in the decline of the empire.

and barbarous manners is not productive of civilization, but extermination.

These are some points which warrant us in doubting the rapid approach towards perfection with which we are urged to flatter ourselves. They do by no means conclude the question. We must continue to pursue the subject by a more perfect exposure of the changing habits and principles of European society, and a more intimate dissection of them.

ESSAY II.

THE FORCE OF FASHION.

IN DRESS—IN MORALS—IN OPINIONS—IN RELIGIOUS DOCTRINES
AND OBSERVANCES.

TO ENABLE us to take a dispassionate view of the general tendency of society, it is necessary that we should have a correct knowledge of the influence of fashion, and make a just estimate of its force in forming our opinions upon all subjects. In common and passing topics this force need hardly be considered. In matters of great and permanent concern, it requires to be observed and estimated almost more than any other. The moon has one motion round the earth; which is sufficient to be considered, in calculating the changes during one single revolution of it. But it has another motion round the sun, under the influence of the earth, and as its satellite; and this requires to be considered, in estimating its power and place at different seasons. Neither ourselves nor the earth have any perceptible motion round its axis, or round the sun; and no use could arise from considering any such motion, in reckoning our day's march, or the projection of a cannon ball. But if the question were to be, whether we should fall within the

lash of the tail of a comet, or should have light for three hours more, or summer three months hence, this consideration would be the chief and most important topic; and any one who calculated by clocks only, or the last week's experience, would be deceived greatly. So it is in topics of high interest and importance in the affairs of life.

Nothing can be a higher treason against taste than to call a lady's new bonnet whimsical; though two months ago she would not have endured to look at such a thing, and in two months more she will call it hideous. Nothing can be a greater offence against the enlightenment of the age, and the majesty and wisdom of society, than to question the capability to arrive at all truth by pursuing the train of thought, and the course of study and investigation, in which the world is at present busy, and occupied expectingly.

It is in the nature of things, that the public mind should not be able to perceive its own errors and deficiencies. Individual minds may sometimes distrust their own views and opinions, by collision and comparison with other opinions and minds, exercising an antagonist influence. But the general mind, being one and alone, and having and desiring no subjects of comparison, is led onward, and leads on those who follow and are governed by it, irresistibly, in a blind, and as if infallible course.

The mind which gives itself up to be ruled by fashion and the force of example, being completely enveloped by the medium in which it is suspended, is like one in a balloon, unconscious of the motion of the vehicle

which bears him onward. The only possible means by which he can ascertain his direction and progress is by keeping his eye fixed on some known objects, the facility of which is diminished in proportion as they become distant. But if the shades of night should overtake the aëronaut, or even if a mist or gloom should shut out distant objects from distinct vision, the voyager must pursue his course in perfect ignorance; the winds and currents may sweep along, but he cannot perceive them; storms may rush over the earth, spreading ruin and producing changes and devastation, but he must be unconscious of them; he feels no storm or current rushing beside him; he cannot tell, having no relative motion with the medium he is dependent in, whether his course is backward or onward, or what is the rate of it, or even whether he and all nature be not still and stationary; for all around him at least is calm, and constant, and peaceful, and contenting.*

But even should he be able to guess rightly the direction of his motion, how can he estimate the rapidity and extent of it.† “Add to this the uncertainty that from henceforth began to pervade the whole of our course,—an uncertainty that every moment increased as we proceeded deeper into the shades of night, and

* “The absence of all currents of air is one of the peculiar characteristics of aërial navigation.”—Monck Mason’s *Description of the Nocturnal Voyage of the Nassau Balloon*, (at the average rate of about thirty miles an hour,) p. 32. Thirty miles an hour is the rate at which the wind travels in a moderate storm.

† “To this step, the uncertainty in which we necessarily were, with respect to the exact position we occupied, owing to our ignorance of the *distance* we had come, especially determined us.”—*Ibid.* p. 38.

became further removed from those land-marks to which we might have referred in aid of our conjectures, clothing everything with the dark mantle of mystery, and leaving us in doubt more perplexing even than ignorance, as to where we were, and whither we were proceeding.”*

How true and lively a picture does this description present of the benighted mind, travelling onward, onward, with the current of fashion and opinion: ever thought the best, while always shifting; and all its greater and more permanent changes unperceived by those who look not out of the mist of doubt and ignorance which partially, at all events, envelopes all subjects of human knowledge and occupation.†

In the *Saturday Magazine*, No. 428, for March 2, 1839, there is a frontispiece of about twenty different

* Monk Mason's Description, &c., p. 28.

† In the *British Critic*, No. 61, pp. 241, 242, there is a forcible passage upon this subject of the effect of habit in opinion. “When any evil has existed for a great length of time it becomes self-supported and self-defensive. One ramification balances another. Collateral forms of the error, like the bastions of a fortification, furnish mutual protection. A wide-spread contagion corrupts both the ordinary ways of action, and the rules of judgment,—practice as well as theory. Words, works, and thought, are brought into perfect unison. Every avenue of sense and reflection is vitiated. The heresy produces the medium through which it is seen, &c.” “Error becomes then at last, we say not so specious and plausible, but so absolutely, so sensibly, so demonstrably true, that it is as difficult to doubt one's own existence, as the existence of those manifest axioms and realities with which one's own existence seems inseparably connected, and which appear the very elements of our being, &c.” “Hence may be seen what a work of works it is to oppose with effect any long standing spirit of error.” The whole passage is worth consulting.

ladies' head-dresses, of the 15th, 16th, and 18th centuries. One only differs from another, throughout, in the oppositeness of absurdity. One is like a coach-box and hammercloth; another like a pyramid; a third is an inverted pyramid, with a fat cushion at top; a fourth has a thick club pigtail; a fifth has lappetts three quarters of a yard long on the sides; another the same at the back; another is square behind the head; another is round at the top of it; in one the face is looking out as if at a tent door; and each and all of them together have much more cushion than head to them.

At one season, about fifty years back, it was the fashion for ladies to have the two sides of their head dressed in different modes; the one side was plain, the other frizzed and curled *ad libitum*.

Now all these patterns of outward fashion and dress, are just so many parallels and representations of as many fashions of mind and opinion, which have severally prevailed, at so many similar intervals of time, perhaps not much further apart than those at which these different head-dresses have been approved and adopted. Each of these was admired in its time, and thought alone consistent with good taste, and was necessary to a walk in good society; and without as great an accommodation to the current opinions of the world, in philosophy and morals, we are equally unfitted to mix with and to pursue our walk creditably in it.

We are not easily made aware of the rapid and sudden effects of fashion, and of its irresistible influence. Even the most violent and the most unwelcome changes, though at first they may be highly offensive, and ridi-

culed, are, through example, in a very short time adopted. These are great and rapid it is true, in proportion to the weakness of mind and character of those who are led captive by them; but still we are all weak, and as children, in this respect, and the strongest mind ultimately yields itself their prisoner. Fashion makes every strange thing agreeable and acceptable. The usual process is this:—We at first ridicule a new fashion in dress, and resolve never to adopt it; next, the eye becomes accustomed to it; then it becomes tolerable; soon after, we admire it; and, lastly, we order the very same thing ourselves. It is the same with vice. At first we are disgusted by it; by frequently seeing it, it becomes less offensive in our eyes; next it seems tolerable; then excusable; and very soon after we like and approve; and lastly we practise it.* Again, likewise, in a new science, or theory, or opinion; at first the new style of thought, and reasoning, and language, is difficult and absurd. By the time we have mastered the few first principles, the train of thought becomes intelligible; then ingenious; then curious and interesting;—at length, when the theory has been completely mastered, the principles are admired and approved, and lauded to the skies as most true and certain, and im-

* The lines of Pope will be recollected :

“ Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As to be hated needs but to be seen;
But seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace.”

Essay on Man, 2nd book, l. 216.

See Archdeacon Samuel Wilberforce's Sermon, on the Danger of Depraving the Moral Sense.

portant, and masterly. Lastly, in doctrine and controversy, if fashion will but lay before us, and induce us to give attention to the positions of the least approved and most opposite party, then we shall first listen to them with the smile of pity and incredulity, as to the language of a madman; then we shall begin to understand, and shall confess that at least there is a shape and method in the madness; then the parts will be seen to fit and cohere together, and to form a rational system; then it is a beautiful; then a sublime system; and then at length it sets at nought all other systems, and is absolute truth, and wisdom, and perfection.

Fashion can give an infallible interpretation to a text:—as in the doctrine of the keys, and transubstantiation. Fashion can blind our eyes to a positive command: as when the Jews kept neither the sabbatical year, nor the passover. The feast of tabernacles was never kept from Joshua to Nehemiah.* Fashion can kill or give life to a prophecy or a type. We are now interpreting as of the Jews promises which had for ages been applied to Christians generally. The Mahometans are now giving a spiritual interpretation to the sensual promises and threatenings of their Koran. Ten years ago the Christians were called dogs by the Turks; now they are admired by them and imitated in everything. Ten years since the Roman Catholics and Dissenters were trodden underfoot; since that they have been almost uppermost;—and the Dissenters, at least, are now very likely to lose all, and more than all their

* Nehem. viii. 17.

ground again. At the same time, the Methodists, not many years since entirely condemned by the Church, are of late years considered to have revived its spirit, and supplied its deficiency. Twenty years since benefices were generally regarded merely as *livings*, as much the property of the clergy as any estate, the only tenure of which was the duty on a Sunday ; but now the spiritual cure is being regarded as the principal, and is extended through every week-day, and the duties of it are wearing out the clergy by excessive labour. Even church-building and almsgiving might become as common and generally esteemed as party spirit and education.

These changes are not all for the better and the wiser ; and there is no security in the dismissal and despising of a fashion, that it may not come back, and be as highly approved again, or that the most modern fashion may not be as absurd as any of the preceding. Among the Greek and the Russian priests, the beard is the sign of dignity. In England, we have cut off the beard ; and we have since put our judges into wigs : preferring the artificial to the natural ensign of age and gravity. The Chinese despise us for being, as it appears to them, naked ; and Lord Amherst was forced to envelope himself in a doctor's robe, in order to present himself with decency to his Celestial Majesty. In 1811, our ladies dressed nearly as tight as our men ; but now they swell and bustle themselves out nearly to a Chinese corpulency. Was the use of trunk hose, in which you might carry a wardrobe, a greater absurdity ? The dresses of our great-grandmothers have very nearly returned into use ; and even, instead of a hoop, we have

now only substituted a horse-hair petticoat. There is not much to choose between these several modes and tastes. One is not much better or wiser than another. The only error can be in supposing the prevailing taste to be most rational and the best. In fashions of mind and opinion we change and re-change with a no less rapid facility; only the subjects are apt to be more serious, and of more important consequence. The last fashion and theory in politics, in geology, in mesmerism, in phrenology, and often in theology, is just as wise and stable, and as well founded in reason, as your wigs and whimples, and your low heads and high heads, and short waists and long waists, and large bonnets and little bonnets, and your hoops, and flounces, and trains, and tails, and hair petticoats.

If such be the effect of fashion where the changes are sudden and rapid,—if its power be so great to reconcile us to subjects which have once been hateful and opposite to us,—what must its strength be where there has been no opposition, no apparent error or contrariety; but every change has been gradual and progressive: each stage and step rising up out of the last with an easy gradation; and no ascent has ever been steep enough to cause a stumble or exertion, or even to draw notice and attention. So the human reason has gradually gained ascendancy over revelation and faith, in England; so the Genevan Church have gradually digressed from Calvinism to Unitarianism; the Lutherans to Mysticism.

With these likelihoods and illustrations, and these

examples before us, let us allow something at least for this prejudice, against ourselves, and the present fashion in opinion, in all our discussions of the great topics upon which our judgment must turn in estimating our political, moral, and religious state and progress, and comparing them with those points in which other people and nations, and other generations, differ from us in opinion, manners, habits, and principles.

ESSAY III.

FAILURE OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM.

IN THE PURSUIT OF WEALTH—OF HAPPINESS—OF POLITICAL
IMPROVEMENT—OF WISDOM.

WE have noticed above, in the first Essay, when comparing some of the most obvious symptoms of decline and improvement, the increase of pauperism, the decrease of religious reverence and good will towards the clergy, the difficulties of trade, the increase also of crime, of drunkenness, turbulence, and the greater separation of the different orders ; so that we cannot with reason call ourselves a happy, quiet, and contented people. I will now endeavour, by a somewhat closer and more intimate view, to show that those points in which we most particularly pride ourselves—that our riches and wisdom—are not altogether so prosperous and great ; and that far from leading us to the many great results which we fondly attribute to them, they are producing many of the opposite effects to those for which we expressly and confidently pursue them. Power, prosperity, happiness, ease, contentment, freedom, stability, permanence, virtue, truth, are among the ends which we would set before ourselves, as the results of all our labours, in learning and philosophizing, and political

economy and money-getting. It will appear that these ends are not arrived at, but are defeated and thwarted and placed further off at an immeasurable distance, by the very instruments and means which we choose and exercise, with the confident assurance of their attainment.

The use of riches is to spend them—to spend them according to our wishes and choice, and without compulsion of another man's will, of authority, or circumstance. What we pay in taxes and rates is not enjoyed ; it is a diminution of our fortune for the protection of the remainder. What is paid in rent is scarcely more willingly paid than the mortgage interest of a debt, contracted for past pleasures, or the mortgaged taxes annually and everlastingly due, for former national excesses and aggrandizement. Nor is the enjoyment of a grand and roomy house and grounds, when by use it has become necessary to us, greater than that of a trim and tiny box, or snug villa, at fifty or thirty pounds a-year, when we have been used to nothing more grand and ennobling.

All our luxuries and comforts are growing more and more into the nature of necessities, and current expenditure ; so that, though comfort and luxury and magnificence are incomparably greater at this time, in comparison with any other former time in England, or any other country, yet the proportion and amount which in each rank and station any person can call his own, and use at any given moment according to his discretion and as it pleases him, is daily diminishing. There never was a time when greater indisposition was shown to pay tithes

and taxes and rates and public imposts. The revenue is most difficult to raise, and, even in the time of peace, is by no means equal to the expenditure. We are getting deeper into debt. Rich folks cannot afford to be liberal and hospitable; the current expenses and style of living, and their establishment, is too great to bear it. We cannot provide sufficiently for our poor. The clergy are very inadequately paid; and yet their endowments are called enormous, and are grudged to them. There never was a time when liberality could less be attributed, as giving a name and character to the age or habits of the nation. Economy is the national ensign and watchword and characteristic. Anything that tends to economy in expenditure, that is, not to the moderation of expenses, but to the attaining of the greatest possible amount and quantity of luxury at a given cost, that is, at the full extent of our incomes,—is accepted and hailed as wise and admirable. Luxury and economy, namely, the producing of the greatest possible amount of magnificence and comfort, of envied appearance and style, and personal enjoyment, at the least possible expense, is the great problem for solution, the great aim and object in private life. And in public life and government,—whatever is free and liberal, and self-denying and moderate, is shunned and avoided and out-reasoned, and is not found consistent with sound policy, and modern enlightenment, and the wisdom of the age, and the general good of mankind, and political economy. How can a country and age be enjoying its riches, in which economy is almost the only thing valued and vaunted, and is of absolute necessity?

Such is the condition and character of the rich. If we descend to the poor, there we shall find every suffering and consequence of poverty increased, and constantly increasing with every increase of riches, and always in the greatest intensity in the very neighbourhood of the greatest accumulation of riches, and riot of luxury. Certainly, if the use of riches is the enjoyment of them, the increase of them, in this country at least, has miserably failed in its intention and object.

It has been too much lost sight of, that the prosperity and riches of the country ought not to be promoted irrespective of the prosperity and happiness of the people. But there is no difference. It is impossible for that to be wise and just and politic in a state, which is not just and politic in the case of a private person. But upon the facts it appears, and it may be made more clearly and fully to appear, by pursuing the subject, that neither individually nor nationally, is the country happier or more prosperous, from great and unlimited increase of riches, and its rapid accumulation.

The riches and luxuries of the country are increased about one-fifth perhaps in ten years,* the taxes in the same time are diminished:—yet retrenchment is the one thing called for, and the sufficient answer when any good thing is required to be done,—as to build and endow churches; the collection of the revenue is so difficult as to be the ground of many demoralising provisions, such as the spirit duties and beer shops, to support it, and many grievous fetters upon trade and

* Col. Sykes's Paper, Trans. of the Statistical Society, 1839.

manufactures ; the toil and uncertainty of getting a fair subsistence by trade and labour is increased and increasing,—so that agriculture and manufactures are alike calling out for protection and extension, lest they should be ruined ; and the hours of rest and religion, and the season of youth and growth, must be trenched upon, and not too much protected by the legislature, lest the making a sufficient gain and profit should become impossible. Is it not strange, that in these advanced times, this march of civilization, riches, and wisdom, we should not be able to sacrifice anything to happiness or duty, but must be struggling for existence !

The one prevailing character of the men of the present day, is a credulous belief in systems, and a sceptical blindness towards facts. Thus, it is proved upon system, that machinery must create employment for a greater number of workmen ; must bring more leisure to those employed, by giving greater effect to their labour ; must create a demand more than proportioned to the increased supply ; and render profits easier. And we are by no means shaken in this theory, by seeing that wages are constantly becoming lower and lower ; that the means of living are more difficult ; that more and more work-people are out of employment ; that men have less leisure than ever for religious duties, for good offices to the public and the poor, and for amusement ; that machines glut the markets,—being subject to no control or limit,—and bring loss upon the whole trade, which agriculture never can do ; that improvements are so rapid, that each new in-

vention overtakes the last, before the profits have fairly paid the prices of the old machines.

Reforms and revolutions are projected and carried out, for the sake of promising theories; people are enamoured of them—of experiment and change. The machine of society is convulsed and shattered.—Oh! we have a great deal to go through first, before the new order of things can be settled, and the blessings of it be made apparent. Another new reform is again projected and insisted upon; old things are passed away, and the new ones have not yet obtained for themselves the respect of time; and the new theory and experiment is carried into effect. The machine is again convulsed and dislocated.—Oh! we have still a great deal to go through, it is said again, before a complete regeneration. The promise and fancy of future blessings obtains multitudes of worshippers, with an implicit and zealous credulity;—the experience of a reign of terror, the mutual malice and butcheries of a civil war, the organization of armed conspiracies and insurrections, the present miseries, discontent, hatred, fear, contempt of law and government, all that is seen and felt, and all realities and present effects, are disregarded as proofs, and held to be deceptive; but the expectations of theory, however long delayed, are held certain. On this account we do not perceive, that modern constitutions are, like modern houses, built less and less for stability: being of plaster for stone, and set upon stilts, and pulled about and rebuilt to suit the changes of fashion and taste; and that while the ancient states of Christendom have been established for ages, the modern govern-

ments are, like the modern houses, most sure to be overthrown, so soon as the moral earthquake shall invade them which is coming over the earth.

Respect for parents and governors is an antiquated prejudice; and equality of children and subjects to their parents and governors, is now an established maxim of liberty and enlightenment. The correcting operation of filial piety and obedience, among those nations which encourage it, and the simple fact of the perpetual existence of the Chinese government, which is entirely founded upon this principle, is not of the value or weight of a straw, to prove to us, that our contrary course is tending to a total disunion and disintegration of society, and to insure, like every other branch of our policy, the instability and dissolution of our empire.

The same ultra-liberty and conceit of itself makes the present generation, and each individual of it, rise up against the parental authority and wisdom of all former times, and deem its own knowledge superior to their experience; not considering or comparing the simple matter of fact probability, of the experience and information of one individual or generation being equal to that of a hundred generations of able and active men, urged onward by the same motives and impulses as themselves. May we not perchance lose more by despising the ancient wisdom and learning, and the accumulated stores of ages, than we can gain, however well directed and diligent, by depending upon ourselves.

But in fact, when rebelling against antiquity, we remain its slaves; and slaves to a meaner and less venerable master, namely, to some one generation or

fragment of the same antiquity. For rebels are the most servile of men, and liberals are the greatest imitators; and are abject followers of the worthless and vile: as those who throw off reverence for the might and majesty of God, become the worshippers of men. However free and self dependent, we are not so inventive as to be able to strike out some new path, which has never been trodden before. The greatest efforts of us moderns are imitative. We exult with rapturous conceit in the progress of the fine arts; yet at the best it is a humble and distant aspiration after the ancient perfection. We cannot invent a new order in architecture: we can only endeavour to revive, as students and imitators, some portion of the spirit and taste which created the ancient models of Christianity and heathenism;—and this, though we have the occasion that calls for it, and the material, in the use of iron, which admits of a new and more slender proportion; and the basis of such a new order, in the slender and graceful stems of the cocoas and palms for the columns, and their fruits for the capitals, and their long shadowing leaves for the vaultings and tracery. When rebellion against God and man subverted all laws divine and human, and left the age of reason and invention, in France, entirely free,—they at once became servile copyists of one or two generations of Romans and Greeks; worshipping a fragment of antiquity with a servile worship. Thus the proud are the most mean, the rebellious the most submissive, the independent the most dependent, the sceptic the most superstitious and credulous, and of the meanest objects. Strange! that we should

boast ourselves of our title to the greatest wisdom, as living when the world is matured, and constituting its manhood, and yet should throw off the very means and advantages which could give us this right. The old man is wiser than the young man, by living according to the maxims and corrections that his experience has taught him. But we condemn the maxims as vain and childish, and reject the experience; yet we claim the fruits of it.* We claim that the experience of this one generation is sufficient, and act upon it, and thereby put ourselves in the position of the first generations,—the very childhood of the world; for they too could think for themselves even then, and reason upon their little gleanings of knowledge, which were their toys, and build their plaything towers and castles. We boast that the world is again in its infancy; it is our delight and triumph to think that we are beginning a new career of science and improvement which is to lead us on to perfection.—*This is the world's Second-Childhood.*

The rest of the principles which characterize our modern policy and philosophy, are all of the same nature,—shallow, conceited, exclusive, tyrannical. Several of them require a particular analysis; and the above chosen subjects require to be more fully exhibited. I shall conclude this general view and opinion of them

* Nothing is more characteristic than the present practice of founding a report, full of conclusions of triumph and success, upon a single year's or even a six months' experience; a new prison or workhouse system; a new school system; a home colony. It is in simple truth just like the reasoning and conclusions and pride and positiveness of children.—Exs. 1st Rep. on Parkhurst Prison—Norwood Schools—New Poor Law Reports, &c.

with the support of Niebuhr's judgment, whose "high admiration of England had turned to mistrust if not to aversion." In his opinion, all was disorganized, degenerate, verging to decay and ruin. The very rapid fall of England, he says, is a very remarkable and melancholy phenomenon; it is a deathly sickness without remedy. "I compare the English of the present day," he says, "to the Romans of the third century after Christ."

In all this he premised the still greater fall and degradation of the rest of Christendom. He had elsewhere spoken of the deep decline of religion in Europe; from which he at that time excepted England. "In Catholic countries," he said, "the priesthood is dying out. We have the name and the form, with a general dull consciousness that all is not right; every one is uncomfortable; we feel like ghosts in a living body."*

I shall proceed to show, in the next Essay, that England has no claim to boast itself against the continent in respect of the warmth and fulness, whatever it may have in respect of the purity, of its religion.

* Quarterly Review, No. 132, p. 556, 560.

ESSAY IV.

DECLINE OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND.

IN THE GOVERNMENT—IN THE LEGAL AND MERCANTILE WORLD—
IN THE HABITS OF PRIVATE LIFE.

IF England be the stronghold of religion in the world, it is important for us to ascertain the real measure of it; and whether it is an increasing or declining principle, and whether it exercises a growing or a decreasing influence in human affairs, private and political. We must not be deceived by any very recent change, and any movement which has been made within our own late experience, however rapid, into a belief that we have gone beyond all former times in religious reverence; or even have recovered all the ground that we may have lost in the course of ages: any more than the increased contributions towards church building is sufficient to prove that we equal the liberality of our ancestors, when they furnished the whole land, in town as well as country, with its complement of churches, adequate and ample in size, and costly in style and execution, out of their narrow resources.

Formerly people built chapels and altars, and founded churches and religious houses, on occasions of any signal deliverance, and both town and country were fully furnished with places of worship. Now, not only

are churches insufficient in number, in the newly built towns, but we are discovering that they are too numerous in the old ones. Two churches were lately taken down in the neighbourhood of the Bank of England. Both have given place to mercantile offices. This practice began at the Reformation. Three churches and convents were taken down to give room for Somerset House in the reign of Edward VI. The same cause is progressing now in the rest of Europe. The following is announced under the head of *Spanish Improvements*. "Madrid. Upwards of thirty huge convents have been within the last four years pulled down to make room for elegant rows of houses, bazaars, galleries, markets, and squares, with trees in the centre."* An account of similar spoliations of church property at Rome is contained in Froude's Remains. The same is going on in Switzerland. In London, a church tower has given place to one angle of the New Royal Exchange.

But there is a general impression that we are continually improving, and have always been improving, in religious respect and observance, from the earliest times. It is my intention to show that this is not the case; that we have a long arrear to make up before we can begin to talk of improvement; and there is little likelihood of this being done, if we already begin with self-congratulation and boastfulness. This is a subject of evidence, and of simple history.

The influence of the clergy in government must have been greater when the judges and ministers of the

* Mechanic's Mag. No. 886, p. 192.

crown were ecclesiastics, and the greater part of the House of Lords, at that time the branch of the legislature which had the chief influence, were bishops and abbots. At the time of the Reformation, Henry VIII. abolished and deposed twenty-eight priors and abbots who had seats in the House of Peers. The whole number of lay peers at that time was thirty-six; of spiritual peers forty-nine;* so that the ecclesiastical bore to the lay power, in that house, the proportion of four to three, without reckoning the comparative weight and preponderance of personal influence.

I use this vast curtailment of the influence of the clergy as a fact, not an accusation. The cause may have been good or bad, but the fact remains the same; and the effect has been corresponding. In those times the law terms, or periods for business, were appointed so as to correspond with the vacations from religious fasts and festivals, the observance of which was deemed of first importance; and acts of parliament used to commence with religious expression, and confession that all government was from God. Now that the clerical influence is depressed, and is expelled from the legal profession, and almost from the legislature, the current practice is most opposite; whether it proceed from this cause, or any other, or be said to be fortuitous.†

* Henry VII. had only twenty-eight temporal peers, and Henry VIII. but thirty-six, in their first parliaments; Charles II., 154; in 1841, there were about 450.—As many as fifty-six spiritual peers once sat, in Edward III.'s reign.

† “The act (24 Hen. VIII.), the Statute of Appeals, which took away the jurisdiction of the pope over spiritual causes in this realm, limited the cognizance of spiritual matters to spiritual persons, giving

The daily prayers in the two Houses of Parliament are a mere form and interruption, and are rarely and unwillingly attended. Religious rule and argument are out of place in the House of Commons, except for the abstract premiss, that Christianity is a part of the law of the land. A schoolmaster at one time might not teach without a licence from a bishop.* Now the superintendence of the clergy over education is looked upon with jealousy. Judges feel it a burden to begin their solemn office at each assize town by attending divine worship, and for the most part one of them absents himself.† These old customs, and others, stand

to the archbishop jurisdiction in the last resort. In the following year, the ultimate cognizance of all such causes was given to the King. Yet, as Gibson assures us (*Codex, Inst. Disc. 22*), there are no footsteps of any of the nobility or common-law judges being appointed, till the year 1604 (seventy years after the erecting of the Court); nor from that time are they found in above one commission in forty, till the year 1639, when all ecclesiastical, especially episcopal authority, began to be contumeliously struck at. Still, even in the beginning of the last century, when Gibson compiled his *Codex*, the number of lay judges bore only a fair proportion to the spiritual. The proportion, however, gradually increased; till at length it seems to have been regarded as useless to observe even the semblance of consideration of the spirituality in adjudicating on appeal in spiritual causes. In 1833, the Judicial Committee of Privy Council was made the court of ultimate appeal in all such causes, of which court not a single spiritual person was constituted a member." (Bishop of Exeter's Charge, 1842, pp. 45—47.)

* *Rex v. Hill*, 2 *Ld. Raym. Rep.*

† A custom seems to have existed of one of the judges preaching a sermon, each in his turn, in Serjeant's Inn Chapel, to the rest of his brethren. Of late years they did it by deputy, appointing and paying a preacher. But that they once did it in person seems to be evidenced by the expression used, "It is Mr. Justice ——'s turn to preach!"

as land-marks, to show plainly what our former principles must have been, and how we have departed from them.* And in the meantime we have arrived at these maxims of government,—that the government ought to take cognizance of no person's creed; that governments have no conscience, nor any opinion in religion; that Sabbath observance is not a subject for the legislature;† that prosecutions for blasphemy are impolitic, and encourage the evil, and obtain for the victims the respect of martyrs,—thus placing Satan on a level with Christ, wrong with right, the fruit of a lie with the sacred treasure and prerogative of truth.

Other symptoms in government are of the same cast and complexion. We have now lately seen the Sadducees in power.‡ Not only have Unitarians, though not in the cabinet perhaps, been exercising the chief influence in subordinate offices, and by their semi-

This custom must have arisen when the judges were ecclesiastics. It was altogether discontinued, even by deputy, in the time of Mr. Justice Lawrence, who was the last judge who furnished a preacher, at the beginning of the present century.

* When lately the daily prayers were established at Lincoln's Inn Chapel, they found that the chapel bell was already rung regularly every morning at eight o'clock; witnessing that the practice of daily morning prayers had formerly existed, and been discontinued.

† An effort was made by the late government to transmit letters through London on a Sunday.

‡ A cabinet minister, in his place in the House of Commons, when speaking of religious differences, inquired tauntingly, "What is truth?"—making his own the words of the crucifier of our Lord. This is an occurrence well suited to the period in which the event has been acted over again, in the persons of Romanists and infidels, through the instrumentality of ministers, and for the purpose of destroying what is good—of Herod and Pilate being made friends together.

official writings,—which are accepted as the groundwork of legislation,—but unbelievers also have been among the most forward supporters and friends of ministers. Religious and moral character has been held to have no connexion with politics, and the notorious want of principle in the friends of government has been a laugh and a joke. The annual advance by government to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, has been of late years discontinued. A part of the money sent for the relief of the sufferers by the hurricane at Barbadoes being unspent, the government refused a petition to apply it to the repair of the churches, which had been injured by the same hurricane. Marriage has been divested of its religious character, and made a mere civil contract, and the holy sacrament of baptism practically endangered, by act of parliament. The House of Commons has voted to open the theatres in Lent.

But perhaps these so recent instances ought not to be mentioned, since the evidence of recent reaction towards religious observance has been rejected. I believe that the above related acts and evidences are real symptoms of the condition we are in, and of the change we have undergone ; and that these symptoms will not be soon removed, but be confirmed and increased. We will leave these, however, and descend to ordinary affairs, and the practices of business, and the habits and usages of private life.

The forms used in mercantile transactions, being founded upon ancient custom, and legal forms, which are of all things the most fixed and unchangeable, bear

witness to the decline in religious reverence; it being certain that the same devotional expressions would not now be introduced, and are not in fact introduced into modern forms employed for similar purposes.

Indictments for murder charge, that the prisoner had not "the fear of God before his eyes," and was "instigated by the devil."

Bills of lading begin, following the old form,—
"Shipped by the grace of God;"—and conclude,—
"And so God send the good ship to her desired port in safety. Amen."

Bottomry bonds used to contain these forms of expression, "I A. B. &c. do send greeting in our Lord God everlasting:"—"The first good wind that God shall send:"—"The ship whereof W. T. is master under God." But they are now discontinued.

Every one in drawing his will, even by the hand of an attorney, began it by commending his soul to God.

The sanction of an oath was looked for, as the best security from persons in all situations: from churchwardens, merchants, servants, soldiers, tenants attorning to their lands.* Now, the salary is looked upon as the best security.

The judges' charges to the jury used to be fortified by quotations from Scripture.†

The forms of enfranchisement of slaves expressed that it was done upon religious motives;‡ and the peti-

* Book of Oaths, Edit. 1715.

† An example of such a charge may be seen in Kitchen on Courts, p. 14. Edit. 1675.

‡ Guizot on Civilization, Sect. 6.

tions of the suitors to the lords and stewards of the manor courts did not conclude without a prayer “for your worship’s most prosperous welfare and lyfe, the whiche I praye God presarve and long to continue unto Hys blessed pleasure. Amen.”* Petitions to the Houses of Lords and Commons are records of the same custom; but they stop short at “Your petitioners will ever pray, &c.”

A physician’s prescription of 1642, given by a Dr. Bray to Mr. Powell, an ancestor of Mrs. Taddy, and now in Serjeant Taddy’s possession, concludes thus,—“And by God assisting, you shall enjoy your health and breath.”† There is an entry by the churchwarden in the Hampton Wick parish book, of the year 1699, to the following effect,—December, the 26th day, Payed to Mr. Thomas Uvedale an apotacary for phisseck and all other necessary means aplouyed to Thomas Treadwell in his sickness *to have preserved his life if it had pleased God*,—01 : 15 : 00.”‡

Formal and familiar letters did not conclude without some devotional reflection or allusion; and doubtless the conversation was similar in this respect, if it were in like manner recorded. A letter of Henry V.,

* Watkins on Copyholds, vol. 2, p. 48, tem. Hen. VIII.

† Mr. Powell was no Puritan himself, but a staunch royalist.

‡ A short time since a very eminent physician was called in at night to a child which was in a very alarming state. He thus related the circumstance. “I saw at once what was the matter, and administered the proper remedy; and the child recovered. As soon as we saw him out of danger, we retired into the next room, and before I knew where I was, I found myself upon my knees, with the whole family; and the father offered up an extemporaneous thanksgiving to God for the recovery of his child:—but he said nothing about me!”

then Prince Henry, to his father, ends thus,—“ I sincerely pray that God will graciously show His miraculous aid towards you in all places : praised be He in all His works.”* There are many similar ones. Walsingham’s Letters, Goodman’s Letters, afford the like examples. But they are to be found everywhere.

The daily services in colleges and cathedrals, and which, according to the Rubric, ought to be used in all churches, are a notice of the stricter religious observances of our “ pious ancestors.”† In Christ’s Hospital, founded by Edw. VI., there are stated religious observances four times a day.

In other times, public prayers were offered by the whole army before engaging in battle ; and sometimes they received the Sacrament. These things are so altered, that it was lately declared by a correspondent of the leading newspaper, and it was not even met by an observation,—that it was impossible for the crews of the Egyptian fleet to fight, for that they prayed five times a day, and that must of necessity destroy all discipline.

* Tyler’s Henry V. vol. i. p. 203. See other religious expressions of Henry IV. and Henry V., and also of the speaker of the House of Commons, in the same work, pp. 138, 139, 193, 194, 203, 223, 309.

† See Wordsworth’s Sonnet, “ Decay of Piety.”

In the old time Lent was not more honoured in the breach than the observance. We find from the household book of the Earl of Northumberland, which was kept in 1512, that throughout Lent, “ beginning at Shrovetide and ending at Easter,” the breakfast (a great meal in an ancient family) consisted, “ for my Lord and Lady” of “ two pieces of salt fish, four herrings, or a dish of sprats ;” instead of the customary allowance at other seasons of “ half a chine of mutton or a chine of beef ;” and the food at a lenten supper was equally meagre.

I have observed, that if England be the stronghold of religion in the world, it is important to ascertain whether it be progressing. But what if this be not the fact ! What if, however other countries and Churches be growing careless and worldly, England and the English be proved to surpass them all in lukewarmness and indifference ! I will now proceed to institute this comparison, and to ascertain the fact by a reference to numerous instances. The result will be a step gained in our inquiry, and important towards ascertaining our real present position. The conclusions to be drawn will be matter of less difficulty.

ESSAY V.

ENGLAND THE LEAST RELIGIOUS COUNTRY.

GENERAL OPINION OF FOREIGNERS—THE ENGLISH IN THE COLONIES—
 SMALL TIME SET APART FOR RELIGION AT HOME—PRACTICES OF THE
 MAHOMETANS, THE HINDOOS, THE CHINESE, THE GREEK CHURCH,
 AND OTHERS—INADEQUATE PROVISION FOR THE CLERGY—LIBE-
 RALITY OF THE HINDOOS—RELIGIOUS PRACTICES OF THE GREEKS,
 AND ROMANS, AND OTHER ANCIENT NATIONS.

It is a well-known fact, that in all other countries which the English frequent,—and this is every country and people whatsoever in the habitable world,—they are always considered as a people without religion. This is said and thought of them by the Mahometans, in Turkey and India; by the Hindoos; by the Italians, the French, the Spaniards and Portuguese; and by every other part of Christendom,—with the exception perhaps of the Germans.

Such a reputation does not conclude the question,—it does not establish the fact; though it must be confessed that it is a strong presumptive evidence of it. What it does establish is, that there is less appearance of religion, less outward evidence of religious reverence among us, than amongst almost any other people on the earth: not excepting the Chinese. Religion does not consist in outward appearance. But the absence of it may be carried too far; as we say ourselves of the

Quakers. And the question is, whether a certain degree of ceremony is not necessary to keep up religious impression and motive in our hearts; and whether it can remain in full force when every thing around us is worldly; when the whole of the outward senses are occupied and engrossed by things that are of temporal use and concern; when religious observance never stands in the way of, or in competition with, human interests; when all hours and minutes of the day are assignable and assigned to business, and none is set apart for religion, but if employed for that use, must be stolen out of business hours, contrary to the usages of society:—whether, in short, religious observance and ceremony *can* be excluded and out of place, in the habitual intercourse and arrangements of life, and yet that the people which has chosen and arranged those habits, should be at heart a religious people. When in addition to the want of religious observance, the English in our colonies and elsewhere, are notoriously the most profligate of all people, being as much beneath the natives, (barbarous though they be called,) in moral conduct as in religious practices, it cannot be wondered at that these natives, (barbarous though they may be, as respects physical philosophy and commerce, and the arts of war and luxury,) should consider that our want of religion is actually as great as the want of appearance, and that our practice is altogether consistent with and a proof of it.*

* “Doubtless the dissipated conduct of the bulk of the European troops in India, contrasted as it is with the externally moral behaviour of the sepoys of our native regiments, (I speak of those of the Bengal

So far they are justified in their opinion, according to the facts which are before them. *We* doubtless shall reason and conclude differently, in accordance with the difference of facts; and say, that in this country, among the English at home, at least, there is more morality than in any other nation on the earth, and more religious ceremony than we can practise abroad, for want of opportunity. Our superior morality and good conduct stands confessed;—(at least our breaches, if any, are somewhat different in character from those of other nations,)—and we have certain public ceremonies of religion,—as the observance of Sunday, though more and more trenched upon, (I do not speak of the last two or three years,)—the saying grace at meals, even on public occasions,—and perhaps the increasing practice of family worship may be rightly set down to this class. But the question is of the degree and number of religious observances, and their comparative exercise and influence; and I shall proceed to show, by some examples, how studiously and zealously these are excluded in this country, and as it were with aversion, as compared with other nations. And if this be proved, and if it be made to appear that religion itself is con-

Presidency, amongst whom drunkenness is a vice never witnessed,) must tend greatly to prejudice the native mind against the religion professed by those exhibiting such sad proofs of inconsistency.”—*Missionary Gleaner*, No. 33, p. 13, *Communication from an officer of the Indian army*.

A few years ago every officer in India had his concubine. The English are the importers of gin and opium, for the love of money, and are practically the encouragers of drunkenness and vice in every colony.

sidered an impediment and a burden, and is less loved in this than in other nations, then it should be a subject for reflection, whether our morality be less dependent upon religious rule and motive than upon worldly wisdom, and whether it be likely to stand its ground against the increasing assaults which are yearly and hourly making inroads upon it, from the continual growth of our riches, our love of and dependence upon them. And if the examples used should seem to have been drawn from distant places and times, and to bear the appearance of solitary instances, it must be noted that this is the only mode in which a universal habit can be shown; and that it would be tedious to multiply instances in each country; and that one constant and revered practice could hardly exist among a people, without other feelings and practices existing which would be in accordance with it;—and what is more, in most of the examples which will be given, it will be obvious that they are but examples, and exhibitions of the real and well-known characters of the nations alluded to;—and further still, and this is the chief point, it cannot but be confessed, that almost all the ceremonies and practices which will be referred to, would be quite irrelevant and abhorrent to our own habits and dispositions, and tastes, and conveniences.

Roman Catholics, Mahometans, Hindoos, and other idolaters, agree in thinking that the English have not any religion. The first thing they see is, that we have no processions; no outward ceremonies presented to the eye, and arresting it in the midst of worldly objects. We have no festivals set apart for religious purposes;

no days or hours exempted from business. No: we believe that religion would be desecrated by being brought into sight; not that it would hallow our common occupations. As for festivals, they are excuses for idleness, and are a waste of business hours;—and so we are much more careful not to abstract any the least thing from what is the right and property and the just due, in the service of Mammon, than we are in guarding the claim and property of God, in the Lord's Day. We may have processions of schools, and clubs, and societies, and political associations;—but no one such thing in the honour of God! That would be quite out of place. As for religious festivals,—it is not mere taste and opinion,—but we should *grudge* such a tribute and sacrifice to God's honour and service:—it would be throwing good time away.

The Mahometans, of India especially, tell us that we pray only once a week. It is obvious enough to tell them, that we pray every morning and night in private. But where is the sign and the effect of it? They will doubt the universality of even this extent of our profession, when they see no trouble or inconvenience incurred;—and who can charge them with injustice! They themselves pray five times a day; and they *do it* moreover, at the stated times, wherever they may be, in public or in private. The Muezzins call them to their mosques, at the stated hours of prayer, twice in every day of the week; and they obey the call eagerly. I have already observed that the sailors in their fleets prostrate themselves in worship, at the five stated periods of the twenty-four hours. Among the persons received a short time since

at the Sailors' Home in the Thames, were some Lascars. The Lascars made their devotions strictly and punctually morning and evening :—the English sailors were smoking their pipes.

A resident for twelve years among the Mahometans says, " the people really seem to make religion their study, and the great business of their lives."* " Nothing, however trifling or unimportant, according to their praiseworthy ideas, should ever be commenced without being first dedicated to God."† Every meal and cup of water is preceded and succeeded by their grace, " Glory be to God;" and so devotional are their feelings, that they have not any expression corresponding to " I thank you," but for every gift or service they say " All thanks to God," acknowledging that every, the smallest thing, comes directly from Him, though received by the hands of mortals.‡ The Mahometans even show greater respect than we do ourselves to the name of " Jesus." As the Jews never mention the name of God, without adding " Blessed be He," or of Moses, without saying " Peace be with Him," or the Messiah, without saying " May He redeem us;" so the Mahometans never name the name of " Jesus," even in speech, without stopping and adding to it, with upraised hands and an inclination of the head, " On Him be peace."

* Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, p. 155.

† Ibid. 157. The similar practices of the early Christians may be seen in Fleury, *Mœurs des Chrétiens*, pt. 1, s. 5.

‡ Ib. 256. When the distressed inhabitants of Acre first received their rations from the Turks after its capture by the English, they fell on their faces and gave thanks to God; as reported in the *Morning Herald*, December 18, 1840.

The watchmen in the camp of the caravans, says Tavernier, go their rounds, crying one after another, "God is one," "He is merciful."* Their fasts also are most self-denying, and of the most rigorous kind, extending especially, even among the women, to the total laying aside of all comforts and ornaments, to both which they are at other times most strongly addicted.†

When a motion was made in the House of Commons for a public fast, on account of the cholera, it was met with coldness; and it was only upon after reflection that the ministers acceded to the proposal. When a public calamity takes place in China, the emperor himself sets the first example, and mortifies and fasts, and exercises acts of clemency, as considering that the scourge may be on account of his own sins and maladministration;‡ and if this be not actually done, but be only an official report, yet it has the effect of turning the minds of the people to serious reflections, and sets them an example of religious reverence, the most weighty and influential, such as is always in the hands of every government and crowned head, if they should choose to exercise it.

The Queen's speech of the session 1841 contained no single expression of thanks to Almighty God for the very signal successes of our forces in all parts of the world, which it noticed with a tribute of praise to our forces for their skill and bravery. Public thanks have been rendered to our commanders and troops, but not

* Voyage de Perse, liv. i. c. 10.

† Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, p. 42.

‡ Indo-Chinese Gleaner, vol. 1, pp. 50, 51, 89, 433.

any to the God of Battles, for two of the greatest and most critical successes of our arms contemporaneously during the last year.

There is a custom in the Greek Church, and it used to be common in all parts of Christendom, for persons meeting on Easter day, to say to each other, "Christ is risen." The answer was, "He is risen indeed." And then even enemies were in the instant reconciled to one another.* Similar religious customs formerly existed in numbers, and are still to be met with in some places.† They all take their departure first from England.

Bremer speaks with pleasure of witnessing the singing of the Soldier's Evening Hymn, by 12,000 men, after a review, in Sweden. This beautiful custom of joining together in praise of Almighty God, at the fall of night, is said to be universal among the troops in Sweden and Norway.

It is a ready and plausible defence, to call all such practices superstitious; and we could not find place here for a comparison between superstitious and vulgar religion, and civilized, sensible indifference and rational-

* *Prasca Loupouloff*, p. 44. The boys in the Blue-coat School, when they walk in procession to the Mansion House, on Easter Monday, have a printed paper, "He is risen," on their breasts. The origin of this custom is, that Edward Arris, surgeon, in the year 1669, left £6 per annum for ever to the Hospital, on condition, that each boy, at Easter, should have a pair of white gloves, and wear a paper bearing the inscription, "He is risen," somewhere upon the person, so as to be distinctly visible; and this to be done on Easter Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, on which three days formerly they used to go in procession, and three spital sermons were preached. Many years since the Wednesday was cut off from the ceremony.

† See *Bourne's Antiquities of the Common People*.

ism. The ultimate effect upon our lives and conduct is no doubt the principal test of the reality of religion. And there are many reasons, independently of anything that has been mentioned above, for believing that the influence of religious motive upon our conduct is not great, and but weak in comparison of worldly obligations, when Englishmen are separated in foreign countries from the control of opinion, and the rules and requirements of English society. At present we are engaged with the question of the existence and depth of religious impression; and there are some branches of conduct and practices, which are so immediately connected with this subject, as to afford indications in themselves of the force and operativeness of our religious belief and feelings.

It is a very remarkable fact, that there is no country which provides so inadequately for its clergy, and for the offices of religious instruction and worship. In the midst of our enormous and rapidly increasing wealth, we find a less facility and willingness in devoting a fair and adequate proportion of our national revenue, and other funds of a public character, to the building and support of churches, the endowment of them, and the maintenance of a sufficient body of clergy to perform the offices of religious worship, and to instruct the people. We have no occasion to go into particulars, and a detailed comparison on this subject, for we have the result furnished to our hand from the very highest authority. The Duke of Wellington, who had taken a view of all nations, and had an extensive experience himself of very many, expresses himself thus, in his

speech to the House of Lords upon the Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Bill :—"The measures must be found for preaching the word of God to the people of this country. * * In so doing they would not only be doing a duty which was incumbent upon them, but following the example of every nation in the world. It had been his lot to have lived amongst many idolatrous nations, and people of all sorts of creed, but he never knew an instance of sufficient public means not being found to teach the religion of the country. There might be false religions—indeed he knew but one true one—there might be idolatrous religions, but still the means in all cases are found to teach that religion, whatever it was; and he hoped that their lordships would not have done with this subject until they had found the means of teaching the people of this country their duty to their Maker and to one another."*

It is related of the Hindoos, that "the bulk of the people, rich and poor, expend by far the greater part of their earnings or income on offerings to idols, and the countless rites and exhibitions connected with idol worship. At the celebration of one festival, a wealthy native has been known to offer after this manner:—eighty thousand pounds weight of sweetmeats, eighty thousand pounds weight of sugar, a thousand suits of cloth garments, a thousand suits of silk, a thousand offerings of rice, plantains and other fruits. On another occasion, a wealthy native has been known to have expended upwards of thirty thousand pounds sterling on the offerings, the observances, and the exhibition of a

* Speech, July 30, 1840.

single festival, and upwards of ten thousand pounds annually ever afterwards to the termination of his life. Indeed such is the blindfold zeal of these benighted people, that instances are not unfrequent of natives of rank and wealth reducing themselves and families to poverty by their lavish expenditure in the service of the gods, and in upholding the pomp and dignity of their worship. In the city of Calcutta alone, at the lowest and most moderate estimate, it has been calculated that half a million at least is annually expended on the celebration of the Durga Poojah festival. How vast—how inconceivably vast, then, must be the whole sum expended by rich and poor on all the daily, weekly, monthly and annual rites, ceremonies and festivals, held in honour of a countless host of gods.”*

But a great degree of religious devotion and reverence, such as is quite opposite to our notions and customs, has extended not only to all places, but to all times.† The Egyptians were a most religious people. The Greeks and Romans were most religious.‡ Not

* Dr. Duff. *Missionary Gleaner*, No. 24, pp. 60, 61. The offerings are given to the priests and the poor. No part of them is returned to the worshipper.

† The Spinetans (of Spina, at the mouth of the Po) raised such considerable revenues by commerce, that they sent very liberal tenths to the temple of Apollo, at Delphos. (Strabo, lib. 5; Dion. Halic. de Orig. Rom. lib. i.) Quoted, *Sea Laws*, p. 22.

‡ “Les Egyptiens et plusieurs autres Orientaux gardoient encore leur abstinences superstitieuses. L’abstinence des Pythagoriciens étoit fort estimée, comme il paroît par l’exemple d’Appollonius de Tyane, et par les écrits de Porphyre.”—*Fleury, Mœurs des Chrétiens*, pt. i. s. 9.

only was Athens, according to the testimony of an apostle, “in all things most religious,”* but the Greeks generally, as well as the Romans, were strongly addicted to religious observances and ceremonies; and their habits of life were formed upon this principle. Every battle was preceded by a sacrifice, every victory was followed by a thanksgiving. Their feasts and festivals, and almost every public transaction and meeting, had a religious object and character. At Rome, most of the year was taken up with sacrifices and holy days, till Claudius abridged their number.† Niebuhr particularly mentions the practice amongst the Romans of offering up sacrifices in the time of calamity.‡ Both in Greece and Rome, the games and the dramatic representations originally constituted a part of the religious worship.§ And Potter, in his *Antiquities of Greece*, thus describes this point particularly in the Grecian character.—“The piety of the ancient Grecians, and the honourable opinion they had conceived of their deities, doth in nothing more manifestly appear than in the continual prayers and supplications they made to them; for no man amongst them that was endued with the smallest prudence, saith Plato,|| would undertake any thing of greater or less moment without having first asked the advice and assistance of the Gods.” * *
 “It seems to have been the universal practice of all na-

* *Δυσειδαίμονες τρέφει*, Religiosiores. Schrev. Scap.

† Dio. 60, 17, ap. Adams's *Rom. Ant.* i. 311

‡ *Hist. of Rome*, ii. 508—510.

§ Adams's *Rom. Ant.* i. 311; Potter's *Grec. Ant.* i. 415, 495.

|| In *Timæo*.

tions, whether civil or barbarous, to recommend themselves to their several deities morning and evening. Whence we are informed by Plato,* that at the rising both of the sun and moon, one might everywhere behold the Greeks and barbarians, those in prosperity as well as those under calamities and afflictions, prostrating themselves, and hear their supplications.”†

Doubtless the religious festivals and holidays became more numerous, and were made the occasion of idleness and ill-habits, both in Greece and Rome, as religion became debased. Originally their religious ceremonies and solemnities consisted in little else besides offering a sacrifice to the gods, and after that making merry with their poorer friends, with temperance and propriety.‡ Afterwards they tended to riot and idleness and expense, whilst they increased in frequency, as religion degenerated into superstition and idolatry.§ And it seems as if it might almost be said with truth, that devotedness to religious services has at all times increased and extended itself in proportion to the degree of corruption and error in religion which has existed in each place and people. Doubtless this is still a great problem to solve; though it is necessary that religion should become more acceptable to the natural and cor-

* De Legibus, lib. 10.

† Pott. Grec. Ant. i. 278, 279. Hooker, in his Eccles. Polity, bk. i. s. 8, refers to the same passage in the Timæus.

‡ Pot. Grec. Ant. i. 415.

§ According to Numa's institutions, and for nearly 200 years, the Romans used no images of their gods.—Varro. August. de Civit. Dei, lib. 4, c. 11, 31; Gray's Connect. vol. i. p. 108, 136.

rupt taste of men, as itself grows more corrupt, and according to their own inventions. The true desire must be, that religion should be pure, and that men should nevertheless be fond of it, and still continue to be religious. As things are, the choice is of two evils. Superstition and infidelity, these are the weights in the two scales. I shall proceed still further to show, that it is not only in outward act and appearance, but in inward thought, and motive, and conduct, that we are far behind in the operation of religion. It will then be for us to judge what we have to fear or boast, as a nation and individually, upon this awful and momentous subject and crisis.

ESSAY VI.

THERE IS NO FAITH.

“ WILL HE FIND FAITH ON THE EARTH.”—LU. xviii. 8.

THE BIBLE PRACTICALLY DENIED—EXCUSES FOR THIS—IN THE HABITS OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIFE—MOTIVES OF CONDUCT—WHAT FAITH IS—EXAMPLES—SCEPTICISM IN HISTORY—SCEPTICISM PRODUCES CREDULITY—THE POSITION OF ENGLAND.

WANT of faith is the very characteristic of this generation. Concurrent and consistent with this is a want of charity:—the charity which believeth all things. We have no charity, or kindness, or confidence in our reception of other people's assertions and evidence; but our study is to guard ourselves against deception—to receive as little as we can; and as much only as is forced upon us by imperative proof and irresistible conviction. Not that we receive and act upon no more than this:—this is not the fact; since it is impossible. But that we endeavour after this, and profess it to ourselves, and believe that we act upon it. It is a system of war and defence that we maintain; and, as in the case of war, our interchange of goods and useful produce is greatly impeded, and to our infinite loss fettered

by it and restricted ; but, nevertheless, there is much traffic in contraband goods, which are both smuggled and adulterated.

But the want of faith is more open and direct than this ; and it is the most obvious and pointed upon religious subjects. The Bible is boldly and practically denied in every particular. No class or body of men believe and obey it. And strange as it may seem, it is by no nation, or people, or churches, or sects of men less implicitly believed and followed, than by those very people and sections of the Church who talk so much about it. There are no persons less obedient to the plain sense and mandates of the written word of God, than those who most speak of and uphold it as the sole authority and standard, and reject all assistance from the history of the Church, and what is spoken against as tradition. Every class of persons reject some portion or other of the sacred Scriptures. If you talk to some of temporal honour and rewards, and the observance of a day of rest, and the patriarchs, they will say, Oh ! that is the Old Testament, and is abrogated. If you speak to others of good works, Oh ! they will say, that is only in the Gospels ; and the Epistles carry us much beyond that, and are superior to it. Unitarians, again, receive a bible of their own, that is, just so many passages are excluded as ill-suit their own belief and purpose. Others, of numerous sects, dwell each upon some half-dozen chapters, or passages, or phrases, or words of Scripture, of the Epistles especially, and dwell upon them idolatrously and devotedly, to the exclusion

of all the rest, so far as the authority of Scripture is concerned, from belief and practice.

This is even in the religious world—the thinking and the reasoning world. Let us now turn our observation to the world itself; to the working and practical.

The Bible is denied in every particular. Men do not believe that we are really to be Christians; that we are to imitate our Lord. They do not believe that the world could possibly go on, if all men were to act upon pure Christian motives, and up to a perfect Christian rule;—if they were to forgive and forget injuries; if they were not to resent an affront; if they were to give to people because they asked them; if they were to lend money without looking for interest; if we were all to give up luxuries, and style, and costly furniture and equipage; if we, our cattle and servants, were strictly to observe the day of rest. How many are they among us who believe, that the “tree of knowledge” is not an absolute good? or, that we ought to receive the Gospel with the simplicity of little children? Who believes that we ought to honour our father and mother, and our sovereign? Who is there that acts up to the precept, that we ought not to judge others in their character? How many are there who appear to believe that it is not right to be anxious about the future; that riches are not a good thing; that the entrance into heaven is easier to the poor man; that slavery is not unfavourable to the knowledge and dispositions becoming a Christian;* that we ought to return a tenth

* Even a commentator on the Bible can use the following sentiment in the way of explanation and instruction:—“The slavery they

to God ; that it would bring a blessing, to give freely and largely to the poor ; that children are a blessing and a gift from the Lord, and that the man is happy who has his quiver full of them ? It is evident that in all these points the Bible is disbelieved, and is practically denied ; and does not control or guide us in our habits and principles of life and society.

Still less do we believe that the public measures, the laws and government of the state, and the intercourse with other nations, ought to be, or can be, carried on and conducted upon Christian principles. What number or classes of persons believe that righteousness exalteth a nation ? that we are punished according to the national sins of the people, and for the sins of the rulers ? and that if wicked and irreligious men preside over our councils we shall as a nation suffer the penalties of it ? for that the conscience of the government is the conscience of the people, and that our rulers are bound to take the first care for the pure religion and morals of the country, and that if they so do, their righteousness will bring down a blessing upon the nation.

To come again to more direct practice, and to our own habits of life. Who is there who thinks *first* what is right, and according to the pattern of Christ, and

had so long endured had served to debase their minds, and to render them incapable of every high and dignified sentiment, and of every generous act."—*Comprehensive Bible*, at Num. xi. 11, note (β). Whereas God afflicted and afflicts His people for their very correction and improvement, and for the purpose of bringing them into that state of mind which He approves and honours.—See St. Chrysostom on 1 Cor. vii. 20, et seq.

after the will of God, in what he is about to do; and not what is wise and expedient? Who seeks first the kingdom of God, and God's rule of righteousness, and trusts that all temporal good consequences will follow upon it? Who is there who thinks and abides *only* by the rule of what is right and commanded? We may almost answer in the words of Scripture, "There is none righteous, no, not one." Who believes in and trusts to the assistance and suggestions of the Spirit in his designs and undertakings, and believes and acts and writes and thinks as believing, that the most useful and important and influential suggestions of our thoughts and invention, come to our mind by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, more than by our own cleverness and exertion and memory; and prays for Divine help upon commencing every task, or writing, or undertaking, accordingly.* Who forbears strictly, and endeavours to expel at once all thought, and every suggestion of the mind in worldly matters on a Sunday, with confidence and faith that the same and more useful thoughts will be supplied on the succeeding week days; and that the unqualified dedication and sanctification of the Lord's Day will make the labour of the six days more effectual and fruitful than would be that of the seven? Who would believe now that a Sabbatical year would not necessarily be impracticable and ruinous; or

* "On prioit en commençant à bâtir une maison, ou à l'habiter, à faire une pièce d'étoffe, ou un habit, ou à s'en servir, et ainsi de toutes les autres choses les plus communes."—*Fleury, Mœurs des Chrétiens*, pt. 1, s. 5. "The preparations of the heart in man, and the answer of the tongue, is from the Lord."—Prov. xvi. 1.

that a populous country could exist under such a rule; or that it would not produce a debasing and demoralizing idleness?

To mention a few more subjects, though further examples seem to be almost unnecessary. We no longer believe and obey the precept, to use the rod to the child; for that we shall save his soul by so doing.* Now we have discovered and believe that such correction is against the dignity of human nature, and is injurious and degrading to the character. The commandment, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," is not now respected. We find various reasons and excuses which render it not imperative; and in wholesale political murders in general, it is now, as of course, acknowledged that capital punishment ought not to follow, for that enough blood has already been shed. Again, who can bear to believe now, that St. Paul was mean-looking and not eloquent? Who believes that Solomon was really the wisest man that ever lived, and respects and studies his writings accordingly, more than those of other teachers of prudence and wisdom? Who believes practically or theoretically, that riches, honour, and life, come by the fear of the Lord, and humility?†

It may be well to mention here two or three cases and examples just to show what faith is, lest it should by disuse have altogether lost its meaning.

It would have been faith in the Jews for all the male population to have gone up three times a year to Jeru-

* Prov. xiii. 24; xxiii. 13, 14.

† Prov. xxii. 4.

saalem, not fearing that their affairs must necessarily go wrong while they were away, or that their enemies might invade them: according to the promise given them in Exodus, xxxiv. 24. It would have been faith in them, not to have sown on the seventh year; believing that the six years would then produce an abundance for them. It was faith, not to gather of the manna more than the food of one day, though they had no other store or reserve, or remedy against hunger; and to gather double on the day before the Sabbath, not fearing that, as on other days, it would stink and become corrupt. It is faith in the working-man, who lives from hand to mouth, and is always cheerful, and trusts that God will give him his next day's meal.* It was faith in a poor woman who gave away her last sixpence, saying that she knew that God would return it her. It would be faith in a man, when he found that his affairs had prospered, and that his returns were large beyond his expectation, to consecrate a considerable portion in charity, saying that, God will provide; and feeling that in so doing he was making more than by investing the whole of it. It is faith to believe that our successful efforts, that our clever thoughts, and answers, and inventions, and writings, and acts of memory, are from God; and that we shall prosper more in them for depending upon his assistance; and pray accordingly for it, on the commencement of every undertaking or act however small, and upon every occasion.

* As Henry Wm. Wilberforce says, it is only the poor man who can pray with real meaning, "Give us our daily bread."—*Parochial System*, p. 72.

It would be faith in a nation, to forbid all trading and labour on Sundays and other holy days, except where necessity and mercy require them ; to discourage luxury and extravagance, and immoral trades and practices, however seemingly prejudicial to trade and commerce ; believing that it would result in the real increase and advance of prosperity in the nation.

The prevailing want of faith in religious truth and precepts, concurs with a general sceptical disposition in other matters and evidences. We mistrust one another. We set aside whole authors as false and worthless, on occasion of some one or two subjects of doubt—as Herodotus, Bruce, Du Halde, Baronius, and most writers of a different sect or party or school of philosophy from ourselves. The result of such a practice is ignorance and credulity in the greatest measure, independent of the error and bigotry and impenetrable conceit, which are the more obvious fruits of such a system.

Not to enter again upon the denial of the Scriptures, and the number of passages and relations which must needs be subjected to forced interpretation, in order to suit them to our present belief, and the experience of the existing generation—as, the sons of God, giants, God walking upon the earth, witchcraft, demoniacs—disbelief of matters of history and fact, and consequent ignorance, has been the characteristic of the last century ; and the credulity of the same period has of necessity run parallel with its ignorance : for the following reasons.

The rejection of the entire writings of an author, upon the ground of certain erroneous parts of them,

proceeds upon the supposition that men's works are uniform ; and that faulty statements or reasoning, in some parts and passages, are conclusive against all the rest, and disqualify them from being a fit study or authority. This is founded upon an entire mistake, and ignorance of human nature, the first quality of which is imperfection, and want of consistency and uniformity. But the belief that a whole author is to be rejected on account of certain imperfections and blemishes, is necessarily accompanied with the idea that there are some authors which are perfect ; and the consequence is, that those books and writings which are approved and admitted to favour, are embraced with an entire confidence and ardour of belief, and as free from all suspicion and imperfection. Such works and authorities are received with a respect and confidence quite beyond their merit, and with a credulity approaching to worship. Even sceptics cannot but believe some things to be true ; or at least they must follow something, and trust to it as if they believed in it. Therefore rebels against authority and power, and political apostates, follow their party leaders and demagogues blindly, and with an abject servility. In snatching at entire liberty they fall into perfect slavery. Those who mistrust and rebel against the authority of the Church, place their implicit reliance upon some master of their own choosing, and submit themselves under the power of so many unauthorized popes. Those who assert an entire liberty of private opinion, and conscience, and reason, to the deposing of Scripture truth and the authority of revelation, worship all of them some of their fellow contemporary

mortals, and those often the very worst of them. So sceptics are the most timid and fearful of all men in the dark, and the most credulous and suspicious of influences which they cannot understand or interpret.*

Ignorance, and error, and credulity, therefore, are the necessary effects and accompaniments of want of faith, and of the narrowing down our reception of truths and facts to the limits of reason—of our own more or less shallow individual reason,—and the experience of our own single generation—of our own individual experience: which is made the test of the possibility of all truths, and facts, and statements, and evidences. And these are the characteristics of this present boastful, proud, self-sufficient, contemptuous generation.

Mr. Palmer has concluded his comprehensive and succinct analysis of Church History, by drawing a fearful picture of infidelity upon the Continent. With reverential regard he draws a veil over the present state of the Church in this country, and expresses the faint outline of his observations on this head only by a suggestion and a hint. “Though England,” he says, “has, through the infinite mercy of God, been comparatively unvisited by the scourges which have so

- * “Behold yon wretch, by impious fashion driven,
Believes and trembles, while he scoffs at Heaven;
By weakness strong, and bold thro’ fear alone,
He dreads the sneer by shallow coxcombs thrown;
Dauntless pursues the path Spinoza trod,
To man a coward, and a brave to God.”

Brown, Essay on Satire.

See the superstitions of the infidel D’Argens described in the *Edinb. Rev.* No. cli. p. 245.

horribly afflicted the nations of the Continent, and though open infidelity has been always met, confronted, and subdued by the energy of religious zeal, it cannot but inspire alarm to behold the wide dissemination of principles which tend, by a very short descent, to the overthrow of all faith."

Yet in the fact that, while yet young, Voltaire retired to England, where he became acquainted with several unbelievers like himself, and, in effect, completed his education in the school of unbelief, and that there he formed his resolution to destroy Christianity, is indicated the part which England has been acting in this crusade against the faith.

I trust that it is not less consistent with a filial reverence and love of one's country, and of the branch of the Church in these realms, to fill up this picture, and to place before men's eyes the full and fearful truth; which unless they see and know, and confess, and be ashamed of, they cannot correct it.

ESSAY VII.

NEED OF A MORE PERFECT CHRISTIANITY.

WANT OF UNITY—PROMISES TO THE CHURCH—MIXTURE OF HEATHENISM—CHRISTIANITY NOT THE RULING PRINCIPLE—DOCTRINE IMPERFECT—THE BIBLE A SEALED BOOK—SEEMING PARADOXES AND INCONSISTENCIES—LANGUAGE, REASONING, FIGURES OF SCRIPTURE—OUR MINDS AND TASTES FORMED UPON THE CLASSICS—OUR HABITS HEATHEN—THE CLASSICS CORRUPT US—OPINION OF JOSEPHUS—OF JONES OF NAYLAND—A BETTER LITERATURE WANTED—THE ASIATICS—EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION—CHINESE CIVILIZATION—JEWISH LITERATURE.

WE must look for a more perfect Christianity, both in doctrine and practice, than that which characterizes the present generation, and, perhaps, than has existed, except in a very few small societies, or among a few individuals, whose examples have been solitary; and who have never formed a component part of their generation. Such rare instances of religious perfection could be but imperfectly understood by the rest of the world, and but imperfectly recorded. But further than this, it is even to be apprehended, that the present current of principles and opinions is not in the direction towards, but away from, this desired end; and that a great revulsion and moral regeneration must take place before we shall know fully, and be able to appreciate, in effect, what real Christianity is.

At all events we are not agreed among ourselves upon this subject; and those who assert that Christianity in its highest essence is universal equality and philanthropy,—and those who assume that it is a realizing of faith in the Atonement,—and those who say that it is works as well as faith,—and those who insist that real Christianity is wholly spiritual, and is consistent with nothing that is outward or ceremonial,—will respectively say that those who hold the other doctrines have need of a higher instruction;—and therefore it may not be so absurd to conjecture, that there may be error in all these, and in all the other systems of Christianity which have, each in their turns, asserted their own perfection. When our Lord was asked by the woman of Samaria, whether Samaria or Jerusalem were the place where men ought to worship, he did not approve of either as exhibiting a sufficient standard of worship; but referred her to a yet unseen and more perfect form of worship. And this very circumstance of the existence of divisions in the Christian world, the fact that there is a want of unity in the Church, that Christ is divided, is of itself a sufficient evidence that the doctrine and practice must be corrupt, and that the Church is degenerate. It is truly said by Mr. Newman, in one of his most highly esteemed works, “that purity of doctrine is one of the privileges thus infringed, is plain from the simple fact, that the separate branches of the Church do disagree with each other in the details of faith: discordance, which once was not, among the witnesses of the truth, being the visible proof of its being impaired.” And again, “It is upon this very fact of the schism that I ground

the corruption of doctrine; the one has taken place when and so far as the other has taken place.”*

In approaching this subject, it must be further observed, that those who are of opinion that Christianity was never more perfect than at the present moment, must submit the whole of Christianity, as hitherto exemplified, to the tests and scrutinies which it is purposed to apply to the existing state of it;—and those who, on the other hand, believe that primitive Christianity was different from that which now is, and altogether pure and perfect, must see and feel that we have now no knowledge of it: no capability to measure and appreciate it; but that as regards us it is, as it were, a hidden thing and a mystery. If we have misunderstood and departed from the perfection of the Gospel, we must have misunderstood and departed from that also.

But the following remarks are chiefly directed to those persons who think that Christianity, as enforced and illustrated in the Bible, has already arrived at its perfection, and who are looking for something further and more exalted, as an attainment of human nature, towards which the present revealed Christianity is but a step. And I earnestly intreat, that when I speak of a more perfect Christianity, I may not be misunderstood as supposing that religion, like sciences, improves by discovery, or as looking, with pretended foresight, beyond that which is revealed; but that I may be considered as proposing proofs only of this assertion, that Christianity, as revealed in the Old and New Testaments, is as

* Newman on Romanism and Popular Protestantism, p. 246, 249. See the whole passage, p. 243 to 249.

yet imperfectly practised and appreciated, and that there is need that the Christian world should attain to a much higher standard of it, before we may look for a fulfilment of those greater promises of redemption of the body, and regeneration of the whole creation, which, in that same revelation, are held out to us.

Christianity then as it is, and as compared with the Bible, is our proper topic ; and to this comparison therefore let us address ourselves.

Where is the fulfilment of the promise, to tread on serpents and scorpions, to go upon the lion and adder, the young lion and the dragon, and that nothing shall harm us ?

It is said, that miracles are for signs, and they are extinct therefore among believers. Nay,—But the serpent is the evil one, and the scorpions are his ministers, and “ Behold I give you power against serpents—the Devil,—and scorpions—his angels and instruments,—and over all the power of the enemy.” These are not for signs, but for the triumphs of Christian warfare :—and where are these victories and triumphs ? Not in the modern armies of Christendom.

There is abundant authority in Holy Scripture for the expectation of a more operative and perfect Christianity. In our daily use of the Lord’s Prayer we acknowledge this truth. When our Lord commands us to make use of the expression, “ thy kingdom come,” does he not bid us daily to look to the regeneration,—and the adoption,—and the redemption of the body, which we are elsewhere said to groan for, and to desire to bring forth ? And if this regeneration be but to take

place here on earth, it differs not that it should be at the time of the second coming of our Saviour, or that it should precede the day of coming to the final judgment;—if it be a regeneration and perfecting of human nature, it is what we ought to look to, and hope for, and strive after, if we might attain to, or approach, or comprehend, even if it were but a part of it; and I shall endeavour to make it plain, that we are not doing this in any proper degree, but quite the contrary of it.

Also the Bible tells us some particulars of this regeneration. For wars shall cease in the world; and nation shall not lift up sword against nation; they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks, neither shall they learn war any more. These words are not yet accomplished, or accomplishing. On the contrary, larger armies and armaments than were ever before known, have been preparing and increasing, both by sea and land; and we are inventing and improving and practising more arts and instruments of violence and destruction than ever,—and we call this being at peace. The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, the leopard with the kid, the calf with the lion, and the little child shall lead them; the cow and the bear shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox, and the child shall play upon the serpent's den,—they shall not hurt nor destroy,—the counsel of peace shall be between the king and the priest, between the clergy and the state,—throughout all the holy mountain and empire of Christ, his church and his kingdom. But this is not fulfilled, or fulfilling, either literally or figuratively,—for the rich are more and more separated from the poor, and the distinctions

and distance between classes are widening daily, and growing more and more cruel and unnatural.*

What progress or approach has Christianity yet made towards these objects? In the first centuries it triumphed over heathenism and idolatry, and overcame many devilish vices and practices. Would that it had extinguished them! But very soon the heathen wisdom and manners mingled themselves with it; and ever since they have been growing into closer union; and it is still now to be seen, more than ever, that the church of Gentile-Christendom is governed by heathen motives and rules of action, and is filled with heathen practices and principles. I shall enter upon this point more particularly presently. At this time it is sufficient to observe, that it is remarkable at least, that we should be *able* so much to admire and accommodate ourselves to the writings of heathen authors, and to make their teaching so much the basis and principle of our own conduct.

But we will defer this topic; and confine our present attention to the practical estimation of Christianity in the world, and its real and actual influence upon the affairs of men, in their public and private conduct, and habitual intercourse.

* "It was announced beforehand to the Christian Church, that 'her people should be all righteous,' whereas iniquity has abounded. 'The wolf was to dwell with the lamb, and the leopard to lie down with the kid;' and there have been endless wars and fightings." "As well may we imagine it was God's intention that the temple should be burned, and the Jews should go into captivity, as that Christendom should be what we see it is at this day."—*Newman on Romanism*, p. 240, 242, ed. 1838.

It certainly cannot be said, that religion is the *primum mobile* among men, or that religion is the first rule and motive in governing our private conduct; much less the public concerns, and the affairs of the state. The force and effect of religion, as leading to right judgment in human affairs, is decried and doubted; and according to the prevailing opinion, it is now conceived to have more power for evil than for good in public concerns; and its dictates and suggestions, through the clergy, are considered as mischievous, and counteracting all improvement.* The doctrine of seeking first the Kingdom of God, and through faith expecting that temporal good will follow, is scouted from public life, and is not much more received in the private walks of individuals. Faith, which is the distinctive essence of religion, and of Christianity in particular, is practically held to be a delusion;—and every thing is brought to and estimated by the highly approved test of self-“sufficient reason.” Nothing is considered more chi-

* This remark is more particularly applicable to the period of Whig government and influence, at which time this was written, and when the clergy were considered the most determined and influential body to counteract all reforms. But I do not consider this remark, and others made under the same circumstances, as inapplicable on account of any present reaction; because I apprehend that such reaction will be only temporary, and I see the same causes and principles in operation which brought the late government into power, and which must continue, after a temporary suspension,—if even such there be,—to forward and establish their policy and principles, if not to bring themselves again into the government.

The project of increasing the number of spiritual peers to its former proportion would still be looked upon as monstrous; though by divine appointment, among the Jews, the priests were made the proper judges of the law in every controversy.—Deut. xxi. 5.

merical and absurd than the notion of governing a country, or even the details of private life, by the perfect law of the Gospel. What absurdities would it be supposed to lead to, if we were to give to him that asked us!—to give up our coat and our cloke!—to turn the other cheek!—and to observe the Sabbath-day strictly. The world could not go on under such a rule and discipline. Happy are they that mourn:—Happy are the poor in spirit:—The meek shall inherit the earth:—Happy are ye when men shall persecute you:—It is more happy to give than to receive.—If these are accepted by any one, it is by a few solitary individuals only.

The plain maxims of Christianity are looked upon as hyperbolical, and are not thought compatible with modern civilization and enlightenment. We have made so great discoveries, and such wonderful progress, that human nature is re-established upon a new basis, and is no longer subject to the same rules of action as when it was in its infancy;* but now it is able to walk alone, upon the ground of the knowledge of its own true in-

* Similar to this in spirit was the Puritan opinion, which Fuller found it necessary to combat, (in his *Triple Reconciler*,) that the Lord's Prayer was imperfect, because Jesus Christ composed it in his minority, before he was arrived at his full perfection.—p. 130.

Evil tendencies present themselves most nakedly and glaringly in the first development of principles and diseases:—as in the first heresies, the first rise of English commerce, the French Revolution; the principles of which are still governing our counsels in the present day. The principles are not the less operative and deadly, because, while seemingly stifled, they afterwards advance more covertly and insidiously, and possess by a slow and general invasion all the vital parts of the system.

terests; and its appetite is now cultivated and corrected accurately to estimate, and naturally to desire, that which is its real good. As for loving our enemies,—we need not even love our brethren. But party and opposition are the principle and the essence of all good policy and wise conduct:—society must be sustained by a balance of opposite interests, and a system of counteractions,—by a war system. The nearest in opinion and belief are the hottest in hatred of one another, especially in the matter of religion;—and every heathen and infidel looker-on may point out a European Christian by this sign, and exclaim with wonder and admiration and astonishment,—See, how these Christians hate one another!

What has been just now said has reference to practice. I fully believe that in doctrine also there will be a more perfect Christianity,—exhibiting itself in greater beauty, consistency and simplicity, and bringing greater satisfaction, conclusiveness and confidence to the minds of men, then duly patterned and prepared to receive and appreciate it. The low conduct and principles of Christians make it impossible for them clearly to understand the sacred truths of Revelation. Where perfect practice is, there alone can true Christian doctrine be really seen and believed, and duly appreciated. The doctrine also re-acts upon the principles and practice; and both must be perfected together, when the body and mind shall be redeemed from the bondage of sin and blindness which oppresses them.

Let us look at some of the symptoms of our condition, and of the deviousness of our course:—though we have

scarcely any thing external to us and fixed, and not coloured by our own minds and the atmosphere about us, by which to examine our health and complexion, and to measure our position. And I do not pretend to define or to distinguish the doctrine at which we may hope to arrive, or scarcely to anticipate the nature of it. We are all surrounded and nourished by the same atmosphere of habit and error, from which every thought and action receives an impress, and some false colouring. Neither would I be misunderstood as believing or expecting, that Christianity is only a step and passage to something higher than it reveals, in conduct or doctrine; as those who define its ultimate perfection and end to be universal equality and philanthropy. I mean only to say, that Christianity will be better explained and appreciated hereafter, both in its letter and spirit:—not that the Bible, no not even the letter of it, will be superseded, or a sentence added to it; but that, when fully understood, it will be found to contain much deeper and wider and higher truth and consistency, than we have now any conception of, and be a grand and sufficient fund and study for all purposes of instruction in the highest wisdom.

There seems to be an incapability, as Christianity now exists, that it should show itself entire and complete in any one church or person. Each person and each church seems to develope some one principle of the Christian doctrine more fully and perfectly than the rest. One portion of the Church exhibits Faith more fully; another, Works; another, the gifts and influences of the Holy Spirit; our own Church must

be admitted to be practically deficient in self-denying Faith and Love, and spirituality and devotedness.

The Bible is full of seeming inconsistencies to the reasoning mind, in regard to doctrines which we deem essentially important. One rule seemingly contradicts another; one doctrine another; the same fact is differently described in different places, which seems to be contradictory to truth. As it is said, Believe and thou shalt be saved;—and, Do the Commandments and thou shalt live:—and again, By grace are ye saved:—and again, Ye shall be judged by your works.

And then again—The Father and the Son have both created:—and the Father has sanctified:—and Christ Jesus sanctifies:—and we are sanctified by Faith:—and the Holy Spirit intercedes;* and thus the different offices of the Three Persons seem to be confounded. And, the Son is equal and inferior:—and He knoweth all things, and knows not the Day of Judgment:—begotten again and He was begotten before the world,—and He was at the Resurrection.

And still more in regard to moral precepts:—Answer a fool according to his folly,—Answer not a fool according to his folly:—He that is not against us is with us,—He that is not with us is against us:—The hand of the diligent maketh rich,—The blessing of the Lord it maketh rich:—All of you be subject one to another, &c. &c.

These sorts of moral and doctrinal oppositions and paradoxes are continually invading and disturbing our minds and consciences; and are perplexing us in our

* Jude, i.; 1 Cor. i. 30; Acts, xxvi. 18.

endeavours to fix rules and definitions of doctrine and conduct. We feel as if in an atmosphere which is not congenial to us, as in an element in which we cannot breathe freely; as in a strange climate and country, where the manners and modes of thought and action are a constraint and impediment to us.

But more than all, the language and reasoning, and the figures of Scripture, are not clear and comprehensible to us. They do not run on all fours, like Aristotle's metaphors. There is an involution, and complexity, and a double intent and aspect, and a want of order and method and completeness, in the types and prophecies, and promises, and images, that quite perplexes and bewilders our senses and understandings, and leads and leaves us in difficulty and doubt, and distraction and amazement.

The Bible is a sealed book to every one of us. And those who have the greatest attainments in it confess, much more than any beginners, that they are continually picking up only some few bright, newly discovered, unexpected gems, which shine upon them more and more at every step, even in the most trodden paths, each of them being but indicators of the vast, unattainable depths and mountains of treasure from which they have been extracted.

Every searcher into revealed Truth perceives, whatever may be the stage of his attainments, that there are rich treasures beyond his present knowledge, and fresh paths opening themselves for the discovery of them. Every such person finds that there are multitudes behind him, to whom his present pursuits appear delu-

sive ; and he himself is apt to think that others more advanced are wandering in mazes of vain curiosity and imagination. It would be adventurous to advance much in the way of example and illustration, lest it should be looked upon as the flights of vision and imagination. But what a field of wonder and desire and admiration opens upon us, when we first begin to be instructed in the typical signification of the different parts of the Tabernacle :—The Holy of Holies—Heaven, where God is enthroned invisible: The ark—his heavenly Church, where Christ—the heavenly Manna, and the Rod that budded—is laid up: The Holy Place—his Church on earth,—fed by the shew bread, by Christ, the Bread of Life,—illuminated by the seven gold candlesticks, the Holy Spirit: approached by the laver of Baptism, and the altar of Christ's atonement : together with the exact typical allusion of each of the parts of the several sacrifices :—when we first begin to perceive that every incident in Elisha's life, even to the weeping over the city of his devoted country, exhibits him as a prefigure of our blessed Saviour ;—and that every word and answer of our Lord himself has a deep prospective and prophetic meaning ;—and that every sentence in Scripture is pregnant in like manner, and waiting for the birth ;—we rest astonished and stunned at the vastness and depth of the ocean of divine truth, and must confess that it is an immense field of literature and wisdom, in itself sufficient to occupy a whole life in the attainment ;—and when a life so occupied should be at an end, we should still only the more earnestly be convinced that we were as yet at the threshold of that truth which is laid up

for our acceptance and use in that vast treasury of Revealed Wisdom.*

But how can we open and unseal this Treasure-house? We have no key fitted to it. Our understandings are cast in another mould, and can never fit the form and rule and fashion of the language and matter of inspired teaching.

We cannot now realize or believe the seeming paradoxes and contradictions which we meet with at every step in religious and moral truth. We cannot reconcile the doctrine of a special Providence in all minute and every-day concerns, with the law and order of nature.—We cannot reconcile Predestination and the Foreknowledge of God with our Freewill.—We cannot reconcile the operation of learning and thought and talent with the influence of the Holy Spirit in the thoughts and over the mind.—We cannot conceive that Bezabeel and Aholiab should be inspired by the Spirit of God to work beautiful works of art, and to have a correct and inventive taste in designing tools and patterns.—We cannot conceive that demons should possess people with dis-

* See particularly the Epistles to the Galatians and the Hebrews; Mather on Types; Jones of Nayland's "Book of Nature," and "Figurative Language of Scripture;" and Sir George Rose's "Scriptural Researches." But none of these do more than open the door. Much more profound aspirations are found scattered in the older writers; but the subject has not attained to its proper eminence as an entire study. A recent writer, after enumerating some others of those more hidden and mystical figures and fore-shadowings, well remarks, "Dare any man deny that these are great marks of Truth, even according to our modern measures, incompetent as they obviously are to these investigations?"—(*Tracts for the Times*, No. 89, p. 37.) The whole matter of this Tract bears forcibly and convincingly upon the topic before us.

eases and madness.—We cannot believe that wizards and witches and familiar spirits altered the course of nature, and afforded opportunity of commerce with the unseen world.—We cannot conceive that angels should have married women,—that God and angels should have walked and conversed familiarly on earth.

The power of Faith over the works and laws of nature is too difficult to be believed by us. So also is it to reconcile the ways and omniscience of God with the efficacy of Prayer. Even the compatibility of Tradition with the exercise of judgment is so subtle as to elude our unpractised understandings.

The Proverbs of Solomon are as a sealed book, and by no means come home to us as the writings of the wisest of men. The form and figure of them is at once common and dull, and repulsive to our tastes; and a great part of them is incomprehensible. It is the same with the figures and metaphors and reasoning throughout Scripture. When it is said, “This shall be a token unto thee; when thou hast brought forth the children of Israel out of Egypt, thou shalt serve God in this mountain,”—that is, some months hence,—we are startled and perplexed and hesitating. So likewise, “This shall be a sign,” “A virgin shall conceive,” that is, after some hundreds of years. And so likewise, for another sign, “Thou shalt eat this year that which groweth of itself; and the next year that which springeth thereof; and the third year sow ye and reap,” &c.

The argument and reproof to Jonah from his gourd, is to most of us an enigma. The reception of children enjoined by Christ, to enforce humility;—the giving

water to a disciple, to show ourself a disciple;—the proof to Simon from the principle, that those who are forgiven most love most,—this woman loved much, therefore her sins are forgiven;—the proof from the Samaritan acting the part of a neighbour to the Jew, that the Jews were to acknowledge the Samaritans as neighbours,—are examples of an inverse form of argument and metaphor which is most common in Scripture, but is abhorrent to the approved form of reasoning among us, and is unconvincing to our understandings.

The reason is that our minds are so formed upon Grecian models, and the fashion and taste of Grecian and Roman literature, that we cannot accommodate them to the form of argument and thought of Eastern nations; to which in most parts the language of Holy Scripture has been assimilated. It is impossible that our minds should be trained and rehearsed, from infancy to manhood, in the language and ideas and opinions of the classic authors, and that our minds and tastes should not grow into accordance and unison with them, and habitually love and relish that which resembles these, and dislike the contrary.

But it is not merely from the knowledge and understanding of the highest doctrines and arguments of Holy Writ, that this classical, Aristotelic colour and habit of mind excludes us. The apprehension of arguments and doctrines is so connected with duty and precept, that the one cannot be impaired or blunted, without the other being invaded. Our moral sense and apprehension is much blunted by our Grecian form of mind and habit of reasoning. The Asiatics have noto-

riously a much greater fondness for moral studies than Europeans, and a much keener penetration into human nature and character. Also, the vices of the heathen character are prominent throughout the writings of the ancients, and it is impossible for us to be reconciled and be familiar and intimate with the principles and gross practices of the Greeks and Romans, without having our own principles infected by the filthy contact. The notorious profligacy and corruptions of the era of philosophy and fine writing in Greece, and of the much vaunted Augustan age in Italy, might have been sufficient to warn us against such company and evil communications; and to prove to us that the highest excellence of taste and genius, and the greatest attainment in learning and refinement, is not incompatible with the debasement of moral principles, and the grossest and most disgusting vices.* The reading the opinions and reasonings of heathen philosophers and poets, and being familiar with the systems and usages of idolatry from the cradle, and being taught in them from infancy to manhood,—more than in the precepts of Christianity,—these things cannot be, without the poison being imbibed, and becoming part of the nature, and of the life, and inherent in the system.

No wonder that idolatry still exists and riots in the Gentile-Christian world, in essential union with the clas-

* “Les Romains étoient abîmez dans les delices, et se piquoient d’une mauvaise delicatesse.”—*Fleury, Mœurs des Chrétiens*, sect. 44. See the article on “Alexandria and the Alexandrians,” in the *Quart. Rev.* No. 131, which exhibits that city as at once the seat of every perfection of learning and refinement, and the grossest vices and sensuality.

sics and the fine arts; and maintains that indissoluble bond which the devil has joined, and man cannot put asunder. No wonder that heathen vices are rife; and that faith is extinct; and that religion declines; and the power of Christianity is denied; and men and nations are governed by heathen principles of utility and selfishness; and that society is united, and the peace of nations maintained, upon a system of war and opposition, and the principles of disunion. No wonder that the Bible is still a sealed book; and its parables inexact and misapplied; and that poverty and the cross, which it reveals, is foolishness still; and its precepts an enigma.

This is not an entirely new or unproved opinion; neither is this state of things wholly without precedent or example, so that we might have nothing by which to measure and judge of it. Neither has it passed unnoticed in former times, or in its present growth and operation; so that we might say that we were without warning and instruction, and were taken and caught by it unawares and without suspicion in our ignorance. "They were mingled among the heathen and learned their works: insomuch that they worshipped their idols." "Ye shall not inquire, saying, How did those nations worship their gods? so will we do likewise." But with more direct application to the present case, Josephus relates, that the Jews were paganized, and their habits and ideas assimilated to the Greeks and Romans, through their contact with the empire.* And were the Jews im-

* "Mattathias, urging on his soldiers to battle, instigated them to the attainment of glory: meaning, earthly glory."—*Joseph. Ant. lib. 12, c. 6, s. 3.*

proved in religion or morals by this enlightenment, and enlargement of their education? They grew more and more selfish, cruel, proud, corrupt, and abandoned, till their wickedness became intolerable. At least this additional and perfected civilization did not arrest their progress towards that degree of wickedness and blindness which brought down the Divine vengeance upon their heads, and their utter destruction. The literature and civilization of Greece were then as complete as that which we now have for our study and imitation. That of Rome was in its most palmy state of vigour and perfection.

Josephus himself partook largely of the tastes and impressions necessarily engendered by this contact with heathen habits and modes of thinking; but he saw and lamented its effects upon his countrymen. No one has depicted with greater force and disgust the mischiefs and absurdity of their whole religious system. After summing up some of the attributes and immoralities ascribed to their gods and goddesses, he thus completes the picture:—

“Which of their own wise men,” he says, “among the Greeks, has not condemned their poets and legislators for spreading such notions of the gods among the common people?—making their number to be just as many as you please: saying that they were begotten of one another, and that by all manner of births: assigning to them different fixed places of habitation and modes of life, like the different species of animals: placing some of them under the earth, some of them in the sea, and the oldest of them bound in chains in hell. As for

those to whom heaven is assigned, they set over them one whom they call father, but they attribute to him the actions of a tyrannical despot; insomuch that his own wife, his brother, and his daughter (whom he brought forth from his own head), make a conspiracy against him to seize him and shut him up, as he had done his father before him. These are the sort of things that wise men have justly thought worthy of their blame and contempt: and such things as these besides,—that they make some of their gods to be beardless and delicate youths, others to be aged, with long beards: others again to be set to trades:—one god to be a smith: another goddess to be a weaver: one god is made to be a warrior, and fights with men: some of them are harpers: others archers. Besides this, they have seditions and parties among them, and they quarrel about the affairs of men; so that they not only lay hands on one another, but they are wounded even by men, and complain of their pains and sufferings. But the most flagrant of all are their lusts and lascivious amours, which they attribute to almost all their gods, male as well as female. * *

Nay, some of the gods are servants to men, and some will turn builders for them for hire; and some will be shepherds: while others of them, like malefactors, are bound in fetters of brass. Now, what person in his senses would not be provoked at such stories, and condemn both those who invented them and those who believed them to be true. There are some too who have fashioned fear, and terror, and fraud, and madness, and which not of their vilest passions, into the nature and form of gods; and have persuaded whole

cities to offer sacrifices to the better sort of them. Whence of necessity they must call some gods the givers of good things, and others the averters of evil things; and then, in the next place, they offer them gifts and favours, as they would to the very worst of men; and look for some great mischief from them if they withhold their wages." *

Now there is no considerable portion of classical literature into which religious opinion and fable does not enter as an ingredient; at least those selections which are made and used for the instruction of our youth, are of this description. The Greeks were so superstitious a people, that they could not pursue any subject without reference to religion; and the Romans, whether as following their masters the Greeks, or from their original constitution, have their writings similarly characterized by superstitious and idolatrous fable, and still more by immorality and indecency. The necessary ill effect of such evil communications upon the religious impressions, and moral habits of all those who are educated in them, must be too obvious for denial to those who have a knowledge of the effect of habit upon the mind, and an ordinary insight into character.

"They recommended believers," says Fleury, of the early Christians, "to refrain from reading the books of the pagans, as being sufficient to shake the faith of weak minds, and altogether worthless." † Jones

* Joseph. con. Apion.

† "On recommandoient aux fideles de s'abstenir des livres des Payens, comme étant capable de renverser la foi des foibles, et d'ailleurs inutiles."—*Fleury, Mœurs des Chrétiens*, part 1, s. 7.

of Nayland thus comprehensively grasps and expresses his own opinion upon the whole subject:—

“As there was a remnant of the Canaanites, to whom the people were frequently joining themselves in marriage, and consequently relapsing into idolatry, according to that of the psalmist—*‘They did not destroy the nations concerning whom the Lord commanded them, but were mingled among the heathen and learned their works, and they served their idols, which were a snare unto them.’* so the works of heathen authors, with the fables of their false gods, the abominable rites of their religion, and the obscenity and immorality of their practices, are in like manner remaining among Christians; and it has been the custom for ages, all over Europe, to communicate the rudiments of languages and learning to young minds from heathen books, without due care to caution them against imbibing heathen principles; by which thousands of minds are corrupted, and through early prejudice rendered incapable of understanding the value of truth, and the abominable nature of heathen error. How frequently are heathen moralists applied to, when the finest rules of human prudence for the conduct of life are to be found in the Scripture. But to go to the heathens for divinity, as some authors do, is intolerable. They blow out the candle of revelation, and then go raking into the embers of paganism to light it again. Many good and learned men, of the first ability and taste, have observed and lamented the bondage we are under to heathen modes of education; but custom is a tyrant which hears no reason.” *

* Rev. W. Jones’s Works, vol. iv. lect. 7, p. 165.

Yet we are commanded to look up to the Greeks and Romans for the pattern of every thing that is great and noble in conduct, and excellent in taste and manners, and wise in reasoning. We are taught from the cradle to manhood to form our minds and tastes upon the model of the classics, and our manners upon those of "the Greeks and Romans: two peoples," as we have it impressed upon us continually, "renowned for every art and accomplishment that can raise or adorn our nature." * Even the clergy are infected by the same sentiments; and are drawn in by the vortex; and draw in others after them. How can the young mind be expected to distinguish between what is good in taste, and bad in manners; between what is good in reasoning and bad in conclusion and belief? The praise and poison is continually inculcated and administered: the caution and antidote is not insisted on; so that we are brought up from our birth more as heathens than Christians.

The first evil engendered by this heathen system of education is, that heathen objects and desires become our aim, and heathen motives of action are used and approved, and impel us to the attainment of them:—the Pursuit of Happiness,—the Dignity of Human Nature,—Riches,—Ambition,—Rank,—Liberty,—Popularity.

The next evil is, that logical and Aristotelian forms of reasoning are required; and none others are found satisfactory and convincing. A syllogism is more approved than a proverb or a parable; especially such parables as the types and figures of Scripture, which

* Uvedale Price, on the Picturesque, p. 300, 1796.

are oftentimes inexact in their application, have each of them many different allusions and aspects, and are at once as unsearchable and as superior to a simple and perfect metaphor, as life and its motions is to a machine.*

Sermons are approved therefore in proportion as they are clear and lucid, elegant and well-arranged, logical and classical.

St. Paul did not put forth such principles of taste and reasoning, or exhibit such a classical perspicuity and elegance:—of whom St. Jerome said, “St. Paul does not know how to develope an hyperbaton, nor point a sentence; and having to do with vulgar minds, he has made use of ideas, which, if he had not in the first place been careful to prepare us for, by stating that he spoke after the manner of men, might have been an offence to persons of sound judgment.”†

* Exs. of double types and figures. “Who turned the hard rock into a standing water, and the flint stone into a springing well:”—the flint stone is the heart of flint,—and “that rock was Christ.” The living bird set free, was a type of our redemption by Christ our brother’s blood (Cowper), and of Christ’s resurrection from death (Mather). So the scape goat. The seven candlesticks, or lamps, signified the seven churches (Rev. i. 20); and immediately after, the seven spirits of God (Rev. iv. 5). “I have brought my son out of Egypt:”—of Christ, and of the children of Israel. “To day have I begotten thee:” of the resurrection, and of Christ’s High Priesthood; see Ps. ii.; Acts, xiii. 33; Heb. i. 5, and v. 5. “Art thou Elias? No.” “This is Elias.” The various and opposing offices and characters of Christ—sinless and yet sinful,—the Lamb without spot, yet punished for sin,—the Victim, and Himself released,—the Redeemer, and Himself the first fruits of the Redemption, and the First Born of His Church. These have not been fully explained with reference to the types and passages which bear upon them.

† Quoted, Theopneustia, by L. Gaussen, p. 122. Transl. 1841.

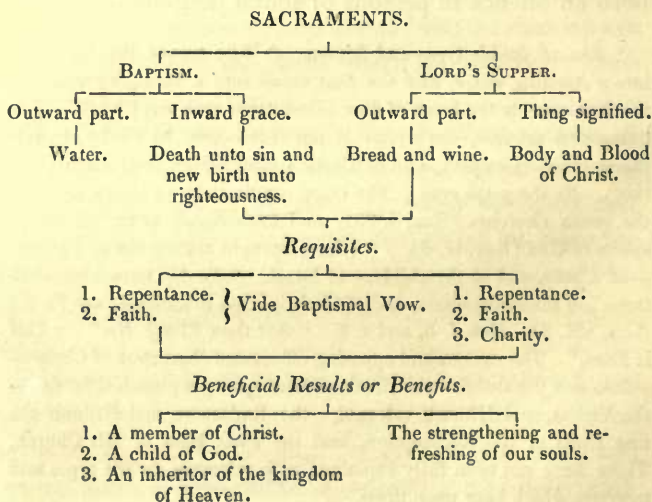
St. Augustine called his Professorship of Rhetoric, "The chair of lies."*

A third taste which we imbibe from heathen literature is for definition and classification. Our belief is not satisfied unless all meanings are definite and distinct, and all senses and applications square exactly; unless all the parts of religious truth are capable of being arranged according to a plan and scale, every prophecy referred to a certain order, time, and place; every word to a simple interpretation.† Hence in part arose

"Of St. Paul's preaching their very bye-word was, *λογος εὐθενημενος*, *addle speech, empty talk*; his writings full of great words; but in power of miraculous operations, his presence not like the rest of the apostles."—*Hooker's Eccles. Pol.* bk. iii. s. 8.

* Confessions, bk. ix. s. 4, p. 158. Transl. 1838. Libr. of Fath.

† I find the following table or classified plan of the Holy Sacraments proposed as of great use in a recent publication.



the questions about Homooousion and Homoiousion, and the definition of the Son as of one *Substance** or Essence with the Father;—and as *Begotten before the worlds*. Hence the exact distinctions and definitions of Justification, Sanctification, and Salvation. When St. Paul says, “Who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification,” we make a distinction and a theory of it. Transubstantiation is a doctrine having in part the same origin. The Athanasian Creed contains a series of opposite propositions,—as that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are Eternal, and yet they are not Three Eternals, (in Latin and Greek, “Three Eternal,”)—which, being couched in logical form of expression, and suited to logical taste and theory of thought, may at the same time be made logically and technically to disprove one another; and which, though needful as denials of particular heresies, are signs of the logical, scientific, classical, and false taste of the age, of which the religion of that as well as this day partook, and out of which the heresies themselves had arisen. The obligatory prominence given to the “*Proceeding*” of the Holy Ghost, attributed as a distinctive property to the Third Person, opposed to “made” and “begotten,” is of a similar character.†

* The word “substance” was introduced into the Nicene Creed at the instance of Constantine. *Libr. of Fath. St. Athanasius*, p. 61, 66, n.

† The word is “ἐκπορεύεται” παρα τοῦ Πατρὸς. Our Blessed Lord applies to Himself the expression, ἐξηλθὼν παρα τοῦ Πατρὸς, “I came out” from the Father, three times at least. Learned men point out no definite distinction between these two expressions. So that this obligatory form of doctrine is rested upon a word not applied distinctively to the Holy Ghost. If it were said, that the Holy Ghost “proceedeth from the Father,” or, “is sent by the Son from the Father,” it would

I would not be understood as saying that there is one word of error in the Athanasian Creed, but only that the language in which it was thus found necessary to negative errors, itself perpetuates a false and philosophic habit of thought ; and that I feel convinced, that in after times, of a more vital Christianity, this form will not be in unison with the doctrinal habits of thought of the most advanced Christians. The Jews are said to have forbidden that any exposition of doctrine should be written down, even in contradiction of a heresy ; so that when heresies died away, they expired altogether, with their effects, and the Scriptures alone remained in their purity.*

be the language of Holy Writ. But to say, emphatically, and abstractedly, not "made," nor "begotten," but "proceeding," seems to savour rather more of the "oppositions of science," than of the "form of sound words," and the traditionary "faith, once delivered to the saints."

* The following is an offspring of this incestuous union between Christianity and heathen learning :

From "The Golden Remains of the ever memorable Mr. John Hales, of Eton College." First printed about 1759.

"MR. HALES'S CONFESSION OF THE TRINITY.

"The sum of whatsoever either the Scriptures teach, or the schools conclude, concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, is comprised in these few lines.

"God is One ; numerically One ; more One, than any single man is one, if unity could *suscipere majus et minus* ; yet, God is so One, that He admits of Distinction ; and so admits of Distinction, that He still retains Unity.

"As He is One, so we call Him God, the Deity, the Divine Nature, and other names of the same signification : as He is Distinguished, so we call Him Trinity ; Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

"In this Trinity there is One Essence ; Two Emanations ; Three Persons ; Four Properties ; Five Notions.

We distinguish and define the nature and use of

(“ A Notion is that by which any Person is known or signified.)

“ The One Essence is God, which with this Relation, that it doth Generate or Beget, makes the Person of the Father: the same Essence, with this Relation, that it is Begotten, maketh the Person of the Son : the same Essence, with this Relation, that it Proceedeth, maketh the Person of the Holy Ghost.

“ The Two Emanations are, to be Begotten ; and to Proceed, or to be Breathed out: the Three Persons are, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: the Three Relations are, to Beget ; to be Begotten ; and to Proceed, or to be Breathed out: the Four Properties are, the First, Innascibility, and Inemanability: the Second is, to Generate; these belong to the Father : the Third is, to be Begotten ; and this belongs unto the Son: the Fourth is, to Proceed, or to be Breathed out ; and this belongs unto the Holy Spirit. The Five Notions are, First Innascibility; the Second is, to Beget ; the Third, to be Begotten ; the Fourth, Spiratio Passiva, to be Breathed out ; the Fifth, Spiratio Activa, or to Breathe; and this Notion belongs to the Father and the Son alike ; for Pater et Filius spirant Spiritum Sanctum.

“ Hence it evidently follows, that he who acknowledgeth thus much, can never possibly scruple the Eternal Deity of the Son of God.

“ If any man think this confession to be defective, (for I can conceive no more in this point necessary to be known,) let him supply what he conceives to be deficient, and I shall thank him for his favour.”

Though Mr. Hales thinks that those Essences, Emanations, Persons, Properties, and Notions, are all that is necessary to be known on this point, this point itself is surely little necessary to be known in comparison with these other notions and operations;—The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ,—the Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory of the Only Begotten of the Father, full of Grace and Truth,—Who gave Himself for us, and died for us,—Who rose again for us, and ascended up on high and obtained gifts for us,—Who feeds us with the heavenly food of His own body and blood,—Who is exalted at God’s right hand with our nature, the Head over all, the Alpha and Omega, having the keys of death, God blessed for ever:—The Love of God,—God is Love,—and He first loved us, and gave His Only Begotten Son to die for us, and willeth not the death of any sinner, but that all should be converted and live through His Son our Lord Jesus Christ :—The Fellowship of the Holy Ghost,

Prayer, till we reason ourselves out of its efficacy,*—the nature of a Special Providence, of Election, of the Holy Spirit, of Miracle, till we reason ourselves out of the belief of their existence,—the time and operation of the New Birth, till we ask a second time with Nicodemus, “How can a man be born again?” Propositions the most easy and acceptable to the unlettered and untutored understandings of the common people, are full of difficulty to such minds, and almost irreconcilable.

A fourth evil is, that we seek after doctrine and not truth. The difference between these two is itself become incomprehensible to us. Our study is speculative, not practical. We do not understand the meaning or possibility of “doing the truth;” or how it can be the

—the Comforter,—the Helper of our infirmities,—the Sanctifier of our hearts,—the Enlightener of our understandings,—the Worker of miracles,—the Guider into all truth,—the Giver of manifold good gifts, but the same Spirit. The debate and dwelling upon those Essences, and Emanations, and Persons, and Properties, and Notions, and the engrossing controversies which they require, lead our attention astray from these other more vital and practical operations, which are to be learned otherwise than by reasoning, and respecting which there is little controversy. These can be felt and understood by the rude and uneducated mind; those cannot be determined and fixed by the most scientific and learned.

* A zealous and devoted clergyman, averse in general to philosophical religion, reasoned with me that the use of prayer was to bring the mind into such a state in which God could grant to us what is good for us. Our Saviour says, “Ask, and ye shall receive;”—and this, because of your importunity.

“Do the gods delight in prayer?” was an inquiry by Stilpo, the later Platonist. The Epicureans notoriously denied entirely the efficacy of prayer.

work of God to believe in Jesus Christ. We cannot understand or believe how there can be more right ways than one; how Wisdom can warrant her disciples and votaries in opposite rules of life, and be justified of all her children.

If it be asked what literature might be adopted as a substitute for the Greek and Latin Classics, which have been the groundwork of our modern civilization, I say that we were better without enlightenment and education than to purchase it at such cost of the purity of religious doctrine and principle. Besides this, the literature of modern Europe may fairly be supposed by this time to have extracted and borrowed all that is good and enlightening from the dead languages, and to be sufficiently matured to throw off this pupillage and vassalage. But the languages and literature of the East are an almost unexplored field; and they have greater stores of riches than are generally ascribed to them. They have this remarkable and valuable characteristic, that the Asiatics are by far more sagacious studiers of human nature than Europeans. Their penetration into character, and discernment of the mind and motives, are quite beyond the standard of European attainment in this respect. But more than this, their fondness for figure and parable and allegory, and their exercise in that style and form of writing and thinking, peculiarly fit them for the office of interpreting the language and imagery of the Scriptures.

It cannot be but that intercourse with the Chinese should exercise a most powerful influence over the habits of thought, and manners of nations now living un-

der the European system. The Chinese have all the good qualities belonging to the other Asiatics, and have them in a still higher degree. They have in addition a most perfect language, of ideas and not of sounds:—a desideratum, even according to our own estimation:—capable of being the foundation of a universal language. And they are the most generally educated people in the world. The collision of the two halves of the civilized world, cannot but be productive of a mighty conflict. In both the hemispheres, civilization is carried to the highest pitch: upon totally opposite systems. Our own is thus imperfect and insufficient, as has been described. It is not an easy task to picture what civilization will be, when it is based upon the real principles and undistorted precepts of Christianity. But it is sufficient that we already have an example of a higher standard than our own; and it may be expected that we should undergo the influence of that for a time, and in some measure, before we take the final step towards man's ultimate attainment. The principles and manners of the Chinese are apparently such as to fit them peculiarly for the reception and practice of the precepts of the gospel; and, having received them, to become more perfect in their use and understanding of them, than the nations brought up under European principles have proved themselves.

European civilization is altogether of a low order and character. Riches, comfort, luxury, pride, vanity, ambition, warlike courage, national and personal aggrandizement by force and conquest:—these are considered, if not signs of civilization, at least not opposite to or incon-

sistent with it. European civilization is low and brutal. To be able to make money rapidly, and to fight fiercely, are our pride and our boast; and are considered evidences of it. A philosophy which says that population is an evil to be repressed, and that almsgiving is culpable, is not inconsistent with it. The Chinese are pitied by us for their great population; and despised by us, not for their want of fortitude and courage, but because, being cultivators of peace, they were inferior to ourselves in instruments of destruction.*

With the Chinese, money is not considered as the most desirable attainment. Poverty is no reproach among them. Holding the precepts of the Gospel, though not taught by it, even better than ourselves, they consider that happiness is more consistent with a middle than with a high station.†

“It may be considered as one proof of social advancement on the part of the Chinese, that the civil authority is generally superior to the military; and that letters always rank above arms.”‡

A national education is provided for every one.§

* The natives of Loo-choo declared to the English, that they had no weapons. Indo-Chinese Gleaner, ii. 6.

† Davis's China, i. 20, 196, 200, 243, 250.

‡ Ibid. i. 210; Nic. Trigautius, pp. 92, 94, Lug. Bat. 1639.

§ Ibid. i. 154, 197, 272. “The proportion of the educated to the uneducated men, is said to be as four to one.”—*Gutzlaff's China*, Introd. by Rev. W. Ellis, p. 10, ed. 1834. Ib. 107. The same account is given of them in the ninth century: “The Chinese, both poor and rich, great and small, learn to read and to write.” “There are schools in every town for teaching the poor and their children to write and read, and the masters are paid at the public charge.”—*Account of India and China, by a Mohammedan Traveller*, written in the year of the Hegira 237, A.D. 851. Ed. 1733; pp. 22, 29, 40.

People are educated in those arts and branches of knowledge which they are to practise in domestic and public life. Office is conferred, not according to favour and interest, but according to the proficiency in knowledge, under repeated trials and examination; and this is the only road to it.

We do not know in what true knowledge and education consists; but this the Chinese know and inculcate eminently. They teach that the economy and government of a family or country must originate in the government of oneself.* “Moral instruction is ranked by them above physical. The consequence is, that industry, tranquillity and content, are unusually prevalent in the bulk of the population.”† “Confucius lays at the bottom of his system, not the visionary notions (which have no existence in nature) of *independence* and *equality*, but principles of dependance and subordination.”‡ The result of these opposite principles, in the two hemispheres of civilization, does not need a comparison.

“Superior and alone, Confucius stood,
And taught that useful science, to be good §”

The Chinese standard of morals and manners is even

* Davis's China, i. 193; ii. 40, 46.

† Dr. Morrison, ap. *ibid.* i. 239. “The object of the government, as Dr. Morrison justly observes, in making education general, is not to extend the bounds of knowledge, but to impart the knowledge already possessed, to as large a portion as possible of the rising generation, and to pluck out true talent from the mass of the community, for its own service.” *Ibid.* i. 273. See Gutzlaff's China, pp. 112, 165, 167, 170; Nic. Trigaut. p. 71.

‡ Davis's China, ii. 44.

§ Pope, Temple of Fame. The third division, “Man,” is by far the most copious in their Encyclopedia. *Ibid.* ii. 259.

more Christian like than our own. As already observed, poverty is with them no reproach ; and happiness is held to be consistent with a humble station. " It is a general rule with them in visits, to contend for the lowest seat."* In private life and in government, their principle is to rule less by fear and force, than by the arts of love and affection. The Chinese study more than we Christians, to love one another. The emperor, in 1713, directed his ambassador to give the following summary of the Chinese moral system to the Russian government. " If you are asked, what we principally esteem and reverence in China, you may thus reply : ' In our empire, fidelity, filial piety, charity,† justice and sincerity,‡ are esteemed above all things. We revere and abide by them. They are the principles upon which we administer the empire, as well as govern ourselves. We likewise make sacrifices and oblations ;

* Davis's China, i. 295. " They exhibit an urbanity of manner and courtesy of behaviour highly commendable ; and in some respects a degree of refinement and civilization beyond what has been attained by the most intelligent and powerful nations of the earth. The Chinese, as Dr. Morrison observes, teach contempt of the rude, instead of fighting with them ; and the man who unreasonably insults another has public opinion against him ; whilst he who bears and despises an affront, is esteemed." " A Chinese would stay and reason with a man, when an Englishman would knock him down, or an Italian stab him. It is needless to say which is the most rational mode of proceeding."—*Gutzlaff's China*, Introd. by Rev. W. Ellis, p. 6, ed. 1834. See *Indo-Chinese Gleaner*, i. 52, 202 ; vol. ii. 6, 20, 81, 121, 135, 227, 425. Nic. Trigaut. 141.

† Gutzlaff's China, 134 ; *Indo-Chinese Gleaner*, i. 47, 180, 181, vol. ii. 49, 235, 292.

‡ Gutzlaff's China, pp 112, 161.

we pray for good things, and we deprecate evil things. But if we did not act honestly, if we were not faithful, pious, charitable, just and sincere, of what avail would be our prayers and sacrifices ? ”*

The Chinese have aggrandized their empire less by war than by the arts of peace. Several nations have joined themselves to them of their own accord, as being the most happy empire, and the most paternal government. In 1771, 50,000 Tartar families from the banks of the Wolga and afterwards 30,000 more emigrated, and put themselves under the government of the Chinese Emperor Kien Long, instead of the Russian government.† The Tourgouth Tartars, in like manner, did not emigrate, but they sent an embassy, and put themselves under the Chinese dominion ; though the Chinese could not even send an embassy to them, without asking leave of the Russians, and going through their dominions.

The maxims of the Chinese government are amiable, enlightened and good.‡ One of the first and best is, that the government itself sets an example, and endeavours by its own acts to encourage goodness.§ The emperor sometimes styles himself in his public writings,

* Gutzlaff's China, ii. 154.

† Vint's Geography, Turkey in Asia, vol. ii. p. 80, ap. Comprehensive Bible, at Num. i. 46, marg. n. β. The Chinese never aggrandize their empire by war. Nic. Trigaut. p. 130.

‡ Davis's China, vol. i. 189, 194, 234, 235, 236, 243, 260, 278, 352, 383, vol. ii. 13.

§ Gutzlaff's China, 153, 154 ; Indo-Chinese Gleaner, i. 186, 187, vol. ii. 23, 33, 69, 347, 352, 407, 412, 413 ; *ibid.* ii. 51, 89, 180, 433.

“the imperfect man.”* “The island Formosa has flourished greatly since it has been in possession of the Chinese, who go thither generally from Tung-an, in Fuhkean, as colonists.”† A similar account is given of the improvement of Loo-choo, since they have adopted the principles of the Chinese government.‡

The Chinese emblems of happiness, are a child, a mandarin, and a stork.§ Namely, they esteem and desire children in the first place, while we falsely charge them with infanticide.—On the contrary, we condemn propagation, and esteem children an evil. The other “two things they most respect, are station derived from personal merit; and the claims of venerable old age.”||

The Chinese make no naked statues.¶

In China there are few or no beggars.** And they have no slaves. They esteem a man the most valuable commodity in the empire; and do not put him in comparison with a machine.

* Davis's China, i. 204, 373, 375, vol. ii. 72; Indo-Chinese Gleaner, i. 50, vol. ii. 407, 411, 413, 414.

† Gutzlaff's China, p. 119; *ibid.* 157.

‡ Indo-Chinese Gleaner, ii. 8, 10.

§ *Ibid.* i. 286.

|| *Ibid.* i. 243.

¶ Indo-Chinese Gleaner, ii. 255. The use of naked figures in sculpture and painting is merely a low and sensual taste borrowed by us from the Greeks; but I cannot either contain or express the abhorrence that I conceive, when I see our Saviour's passion made the subject of an anatomical exercise; and to see painters and patrons and virtuosos met together to examine the muscular development of our blessed Lord's naked body.

** Sir George Staunton, *ap. ibid.* i. 235.

The Chinese do not consider luxury useful, and a virtue; or that it tends to the support of the poor; but the contrary.* Sir George Staunton says, “in the course of our journey through the Chinese empire, I can recall to my recollection (the seaport of Canton of course excepted) but very few instances of beggary or abject misery among the lower classes, or of splendid extravagance among the higher; and I conceived myself enabled to trace almost universally throughout China, the unequivocal signs of an industrious, thriving and contented people.”†

Almost all modern travellers agree in this view of the Chinese. Mr. Ellis says, “I have been much struck with the number of persons apparently in the middle classes; from which I am inclined to infer a wide diffusion of the substantial comforts of life.”—Van Braam observes, that “it was easy to perceive that the inhabitants are strangers to poverty,”—and that “everything bore the appearance of plenty and happiness:”—Barrow, that the countenances of the peasants were cheerful, and their appearance indicative of plenty:—and Sir George Staunton again, that “the cottages are clean and comfortable.” While, of the alleged infanticide, De Guignes declares, that in his route through the whole extent of China, he never met with an instance of it; and Mr. Ellis, giving the same testimony, adds, that “supposing any of the statements of it to have been well founded, it was scarcely to be believed that in passing over its populous rivers, through upwards of

* Indo-Chinese Gleaner, i. 184, vol. ii. 59.

† Davis's China, i. 235.

1600 miles of country, we should find no proof of its mere existence.”* Again, “careworn and half-starved faces are rare things in China. A plumpness of feature, cheerfulness of mien, and a gait full of animation, though without hurry, bespeak a condition of mind that looks on to-day’s supply with complacency, and forward to to-morrow’s chances without apprehension. The happiness and general prosperity of the Chinese are conspicuous.”†

The Bishop of Sodor and Man, and Sir George Rose, both consider that the lengthened existence of the Chinese empire has been a fulfilment of the Scripture promise of long-living in the land, to those who keep that first divine commandment of the second table, to honour and obey parents.‡

Upon the whole, it appears that the Chinese have attained to a better and more Christian like civilization than Europeans;—yet imperfect; and it seems likely that, as the Israelites from the beginning became better Christians than the Gentiles, so the Chinese will show themselves better Christians than the Europeans, among the Gentile nations, when converted.

But the Jews more especially have a language, and in some measure a literature, which peculiarly fit them for becoming the great and authorized interpreters of the

* Ap. Mr. Sadler’s Life, p. 160. No doubt it will prove to be the case that infanticide has existed to some extent in certain parts of China. Du Halde says, “In the great cities, such as Peking and Kanton, this shocking sight is very common; but in other places it is very rare.”

† The Chinese As They Are, by G. Tradescant Lay, p. 260.

‡ What is Christianity? p. 145; Scriptural Researches, 174, 194, &c.

Sacred Writings. Every thing in prophecy and circumstance marks them out as likely to take an important place, and to act a prominent part, in the events which are shortly coming upon the earth. They have been once, if they be not now, the wisest and most enlightened people. Salvation is of the Jews. Their uninspired literature contains, as it always did, many valuable instructions and maxims, especially with regard to moral and religious practice, and the conduct of life. Their long period of affliction and persecution is likely to have disciplined and instructed their hearts and dispositions, and prepared their minds for the reception at length of pure religious truth and wisdom. Salvation is of the Jews. And whether the Redeemer himself shall first come to Zion again, and rule over his people from thence, and from thence send forth the true and perfect law, and the pure word and river of life, flowing from a full interpretation and comprehension of the Bible as a fountain, or whether the Jews shall first return to their land and be converted, and devote their studies and zeal to the eliciting and illustration of Christianity from every word of the Old and New Testaments,—preparatory to His second coming,—in either case, the Jews seem to be destined to act a glorious part in extracting the abundant and overflowing riches of Divine wisdom and Christian truth, which are hidden, as in an inexhaustible mine, in all the types and figures, and precepts and parables, and ceremonies and prophecies, and lives of saints and patriarchs, and every event of history, as recorded in Holy Scripture, from the beginning of creation to the times coincident with the first coming of our Lord.

We cannot even approach to forming an adequate conception of the sight, when we shall see clearly and know perfectly the word of truth and revelation, as it shall be fully developed to us. We can just perceive some symptoms of the errors of our present systems and opinions, as being opposed to the spirit and form of Scripture truth, and some small signs of the direction which sounder views and interpretations might take, in approach towards the true spirit and wisdom of revealed truth. We can perceive that the Bible is an immense treasure of hidden wisdom,—because each person, as he penetrates further into it, is only more convinced that he is still but on the threshold; and that more faithful practice and obedience must be the key,*—for that the whole book is sealed to us by our self-chosen principles of conduct, and practices; and that the Jews are not only the natural interpreters, if they could but be weaned from their traditions, and be brought to it with a right intention and spirit, but that they are more likely to be disciplined at length into this right course of thought and a suitable teachableness, by their long chastenings and afflictions,—because we find that all our worldly advancements and growth in wealth, luxury, power, prosperity and civilization, only lead us farther from the maxims and spirit and motives and rules of Christianity, and the capability of obeying or believing them. We know nothing of the real nature of our ultimate regeneration, or of the manner of the second coming,—more

* “Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.”—Matt. v. 8. “Every man that hath *this hope* in him, *purifieth himself* even as He is pure.”—1 John, iii. 3.

than the Jews knew and believed of the manner of the first coming to redemption,—or whether our Lord will bring it at once and immediately by Himself, or first by his ministers ;—but we feel and groan under the desire of a further redemption and regeneration of the body and mind and spirit and understanding, and of the knowledge and practice of a more real and perfect Christianity.

It may be, that the temple of God is already opened in heaven, and there is seen in his temple the ark of his testament: that is, the first signs and leaven of perfect Christianity. But no one can enter into the temple, till the plagues of the seven angels are fulfilled. But now at this time, by the pouring out of the sixth vial, it seems that the great river Euphrates (the great flood, or ocean) is drying up, that the way of the kings of the East may be prepared. The Eastern habits of thought and conduct must first take their due share, in forming our minds, and the perfecting of civilization. After that, the seventh vial shall be poured out into the air ;—and then shall the spirit of religion become pure and perfect ; and then, and not till then, shall the true believers in Christ enter into the temple of God, and worship him in spirit and in truth.*

* Rev. xi. 19 ; xv. 5, 8 ; xvi. 12, 17.

ESSAY VIII.

THE IMAGE OF THE BEAST.

“ THAT WAS, AND IS NOT, AND YET IS.”—REV. xvii. 8.

SPIRITUAL INCEST—THE REVIVAL AND USE OF HEATHEN LEARNING AND PRINCIPLES—THE HEALING OF THE BEAST—PERFECTED AFTER THE REFORMATION—ARISTOTLE THE FATHER OF INFIDELITY—IN SUCCESSIVE AGES—OPINIONS OF PRIESTLEY, FLEURY, LUTHER, DR. ARNOLD—ROME REVIVED—CLASSICAL LIBERTY—DIGNITY AND WORSHIP OF HUMAN NATURE—AGE AND AUTHORITY SLIGHTED—LIBERTY OPPRESSIVE—POOR AND POOR LAWS OF ATHENS AND ROME—CORRUPTION OF CAPITAL CITIES—THEATRES—GLADIATORIAL SHOWS—HEARING AND SEEING SOME NEW THING—SPIRIT OF UNTRUTH—QUAKER EDUCATION.

BUT there is a still heavier charge, which lies against the ruling principles in Christendom; for if certain not lightly pondered surmises be correct, they realize the renewal and re-establishment of the Greek and Roman Empires, and the revival of the heathen beast prophesied of in Revelations.

It may not be easy to place the right crown precisely upon each head of the anti-christian beast. But the Protestant Churches have felt no scruple in affixing the crowns of the Greek and Roman Empires upon the Greek and Roman Churches, which renew and glory in the same respective names of those two heathen and op-

posing empires, which Christ came to put down;—and if, in some sort, the same circle of regal dignity were said to embrace the head and horns of the Protestant Kingdoms and Churches, it would not be more impossible on the ground of promised infallibility, nor improbable on the ground of lamb-like meekness, and absence of presumption.

Sir George Rose, in his “Scriptural Researches,” has supported views hardly, if at all, falling short of this proposition; and he seems to look forward to that final consummation of wickedness in the Gentile Churches, which it is foretold shall bring down the most signal punishment upon them.* He speaks respecting the essential imperfections of the Gentile-Christian Church in this manner: “It appears therefore, that the Christian Church, the Bride of Christ, which from the first would have been Jewish, had not Israel resisted and rejected its Redeemer, and would have existed in the most intimate union with him, passed into the hands of the Gentiles, and became weak and corrupt in their possession, one in some sense scarcely legal, and always imperfect. And all that we learn from prophecy, and have hitherto seen with our own eyes, demonstrates to us, that this Church, as long as she is under Gentile headship, will be fallen and degraded; and it is brought distinctly to our view by Holy Writ, that it will never be seen in a perfect and beatific state, until Israel, having received the Gospel, shall assume its long-destined pre-eminence in the universal Church, under the rule

* Dan. ix. 27, *Marg. upon the desolator.* Luke, xxi. 24.

of the prophesied David, its Messiah and Redeemer, with whom that Church will then be united by the closest and most endearing ties, as those of a bride to the bridegroom. The Church, whose husband is the mighty Head of Israel, becoming Gentile and corrupt, could no longer claim that holy tie, though still in relationship to him. She was as it were denied by him.”*

The same author, throughout his fourth chapter, goes on to show, that Jewish idolatries and apostacies are characterized as adulteries, being a pollution of that which was pure and holy only in a secondary degree, namely, the ceremonial law, the shadow and forerunner of a perfect and heavenly; but that idolatries and infidelities in the Christian Church are aptly characterized as incest, being typified by the Moabites and Ammonites, the incestuous progeny of Lot and his daughters.† And though he considers that the offspring of the respective sisters typify primarily the incests of the sister Churches of Rome and Greece, he does not consider that the reformed churches are free from similar reprehension. “The churches which broke and threw off the Romish yoke at the Reformation, have by God’s blessing, it is true, substituted a very far purer worship to that which they abjured; but their divisions, and sects, and heresies, present a picture lamentably unlike that of such a Church, as could, in the character of a

* Scriptural Researches, ch. 3, p. 37.

† Ibid. ch. 4, p. 44, &c. “The most despicable and deplorable being under heaven is a pagan in a Christian land.” “What guilt so deep as that of a baptized infidel?”—*Young’s Letters*, Lett. 6, Works, vol. ii. p. 108, 110, ed. 1798.

bride, in humble confidence claim the Redeemer as its bridegroom." "Nor is it assuredly," he continues, "on the score of their morality, that the Christian nations can venture to appeal to the Gospel, as honouring and obeying its precepts. St. Paul in a few words (Romans, xi. 13—15) signifies to us, that the Gentile Church, at the time of the reception of the Gospel by the Hebrews, will be in a state of death."*

There is a passage also in a Sermon by the Rev. Thomas Dale, with which I would fortify myself in the outset, before proceeding more particularly to illustrate and support the proposition which I have undertaken. After referring to the graphical description of the corruptions and impurities of the heathen world, in the 1st chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, he proceeds to ask, "Is there any such moral or intellectual improvement among the ungodly and unchristianized of our own population, as to warrant the indulgence of a hope, that, under parallel circumstances, such they would not be again? Our mighty metropolis combines within herself the commerce of Tyre, the magnificence of Babylon, the philosophy of Athens, and the proud pre-eminence of Rome republican, if not the usurping and devouring rapacity of Rome imperial;—and can we think, that, if infected by the contagion of their infidelities, she would not concentrate the pollution of their crimes."†

But the chief point to be insisted upon, which is the key-stone to the rest, is the predominance of heathen

* Scriptural Researches, p. 36.

† Sermon of the Rev. Thomas Dale, preached at St. Bride's, July 12, 1840, p. 8.

literature and philosophy in our education; and to show how all other heathen principles and practices have grown out of this one, till the whole of Christendom is in effect a revival and re-establishment of heathenism, with a mixed and subordinate leavening only of Christian principles, disquieting and fermenting it.

“*Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
Didicit agresti Latio.*”

For “*artes*” read philosophy, and vices, and infidelity, and man-worship, and other idolatries; and then, in like manner, Rome has taken captive her conqueror, the Church of Christ, and holds her in the not unwilling fetters of her philosophy and corruptions and moral system.

This evil showed itself in the first beginning of the conversion of the Gentile nations, and the communication with their manners and system, which grew out of it. Fleury remarks, that, from the beginning, the Israelites who were converted to Christianity, became better Christians than the Gentiles when converted.* St. Paul in some of his Epistles shows the abuses and excesses, and false systems, into which the general mass of Gentile converts were from the first disposed to reason themselves. But very soon the fathers themselves were drawn in by the same net; and among them some of the most admired and influential, such as Clemens and Origen, became subject to the charge of heretical opinions, for the very cause of the too great assimilation of their reasoning to the heathen philosophy.

* *Mœurs des Chrétiens*, pt. 1, s. 2.

The disposition of philosophy and human wisdom to resist the first truths of Christianity, as foolishness, has been always the same, from the beginning up to this time. It is said, that “in the disputes between the Christian ministers and pagan priests, the teachers of philosophy were almost invariably found on the side of the latter;”^{*} and this, though they could themselves discern and expose the absurdities of their own Pantheon. And the certain consequences that must follow from the familiar contact, the studious admiration and imitation of the Greek and Roman writers,—philosophers, poets, satirists, dramatists, historians, orators,—must have been evident to all who had the slightest knowledge of the delicate fabric and susceptibility of the human mind, or who had not resolved hardily to incur the risk and temptation at all hazards, for the indulgence of inclination.

It was commanded by the highest wisdom, “Neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die;”—and “Thou shalt not covet:”—and again, “Thou shalt not make a graven image:”—and again, “Thou shalt not inquire, saying, How did these nations worship their gods?”—because the infallible effect and consequence—God knoweth—of touching, will be tasting,—of coveting, will be taking,

^{*} Libr. of U. K., Hist. of the Church, p. 51; of the Age of Dioclesian. Dr. Cave relates of St. Barnabas, that when he first arrived at Rome, and set forth the truths of the Gospel in a speech of great plainness and simplicity, which took with the populace, “the philosophers and more inquisitive heads entertained the discourse with scorn and laughter, setting upon him with captious questions and syllogisms, and sophistical arts of reasoning.”—*Dr. Cave's Lives of the Fathers*, vol. i. p. 100, ed. 1840.

—of making, will be admiring our own creation, and worshipping the work of our own hands,—of inquiring and knowing, will be explaining and excusing, and in natural and necessary course, “saying, we will do likewise.” But, fortifying ourselves, not against the temptation, but against the law, we have resolved, in indulgence of our curiosity and expectations,—“ye shall not surely die,”—“ye shall be as gods,”—to enter the chamber of imagery; and we show, by this very concession to our curiosity and desires, that we are already more than half enslaved, and bound in chains, the worshippers of the many-headed monster that rules and revels and ravens there within.

The spirit of idolatry, of heresy, and infidelity, has attended the use of the classics as the foundation of learning, in each of the countries successively which have taken the pre-eminence as the seat of science and enlightenment, within the utmost limits of the European system and circle of civilization. From Rome it passed for a time to the Saracens; from the Saracens to the Jews in Portugal and Spain; and it was found in the metropolis and churches of the Eastern Christians. But the great and chief development, which first began to raise up heathenism to the height and position which it now assumes, as chief ruler among us, was at what is called the revival of learning. This revival took place in Italy, under the patronage and encouragement of the patriarchs of the Roman Church;* who thereby first

* M. Rio, in his work, “*De la Poesie Chrétienne*,” “On the Painting of the Middle Ages,” considers that what is commonly called the revival of the arts under the Medici, was a revival of paganism.

invented and forged the weapons by which she was invaded, and furnished the arms to the Reformers, by which they so much limited her empire, and weakened her strength. But Protestantism has perfected this work. It is under her auspices and encouragement that infidelity has gained its height, and developed all the mysteries of iniquity with which it has inundated the whole realm of Christendom.* Nevertheless it is

* I quote a few passages from Dr. Kett's work on "Prophecy," to guard myself against some unfavourable conclusions that might be drawn from the expression in the text:—

"The prevalence of metaphysical disquisition powerfully assisted the growth of infidelity, in those countries where the liberal spirit of the Reformation tolerated discussion upon religious and political subjects. Considered as matters of mere speculation, and admired as enlarging the sphere of knowledge, the tendency of those writings was not always perceived by minds which religion guarded from the mischief. *They* saw the dazzling meteors shoot harmless into space. But infidelity saw clearly how their course might be directed to guide mankind to her dominions; and the dissensions that prevailed among the numerous sects, which sprung from the doctrines of Luther and Calvin, unhappily assisted the execution of this design."

The unbelieving Frederick the Great writes, "Philosophy is beginning to penetrate into superstitious Bohemia, and into Austria, the former abode of superstition. In our Protestant countries we go on much brisker."

"The spirit of free inquiry was the great boast of the Protestants, and their only support against the Roman Catholics, securing them both in their religious and civil rights. It was therefore encouraged by their governments, and sometimes indulged to excess." (*Robinson*.) "Others went further, and said, that revelation was a solecism; and others proscribed all religion," &c. "Most of these innovations were the work of Protestant divines."

"The Protestant cantons of Switzerland, particularly Berne, and the Pays de Vaud, have long been infected by the poison of infidelity, daily issuing from that polluted spring, Geneva."

"Far be it from me to say, that our mountain stands strong, and

one general principle of evil, spreading through all churches and denominations in the European system; and Protestants combined with Roman Catholics, and Lutherans with Calvinists and others, to heap up the vast summit of profligacy and wickedness and infidelity which carried itself with such a lofty head and open front at the French Revolution. It has always been one principle and one system, active and eminent in different degrees and places, and in different forms and shapes, in proportion to the degree of development which it has attained; and this generally in proportion to the degree of refinement and civilization, of which it is the foundation.

Though it attained its greatest vitality and eminence at the French Revolution, it is not dead now;—and it even threatens its revival in a still more determined and dangerous shape: the evil effects of which must be proportioned to its ultimate development.

The early Christian Church was led astray into Platonic reveries; but the later and steadier encroachments of heathenism have been carried on under the more headstrong and heartless rationalism of Aristotle; with

shall never be moved. The ark of the Lord was a security to the Jews, only so long as they obeyed his commandments. And the Church of England will be our protection, only so long as we feel the value of the gospel, believe in its doctrines, and obey its precepts.”—*Kett on Prophecy*, vol. ii. pp. 133, 167, 171, 272, 274.

“The Bishop of Meaux, and the learned Grotius, supposed the second beast to denote philosophy, ‘falsely so called.’ Dr. Hartley, in the conclusion of his ‘Observations on Man,’ considers infidelity as the beast. Sir I. Newton and Dr. Clarke interpreted the reign of the beast to be the open avowal of infidelity.”—*Ibid.* vol. i. 389.

whose operations therefore we have chiefly to do in furnishing illustrations. The opinion of Aristotle here advanced, as well as respecting the general encroachment of pagan literature upon the opinions and morals and habits of Christian nations, is supported by many influential testimonies. The opinions of Josephus, of St. Augustine, and of Jones of Nayland, have been quoted in the last Essay. The following also add their testimonies in the same scale.

Dr. Priestley asserts that "the great father of modern unbelievers among Mahometans and Christians, was Averroes, a Saracen Mahometan, of the twelfth century." He was devoted to the philosophy of Aristotle, whose writings are said to have made all the unbelievers in the age of Petrarch and that of Leo X.*

Fleury, in like manner remarks, "that the too great subtleties of metaphysics and dialectics, which were introduced at the revival of learning, were borrowed by Europeans from the Arabians."† He goes on to say again, "that the casuists founded their systems of morals upon human reasoning." "As if," he continues, "Jesus Christ had not instructed us in all truth, as well appertaining to manners and morals, as to faith; and as if we were to have to seek for them again among the ancient philosophers."‡

This is what Luther proclaimed of the study of Aristotle, and other similar writers. "Aristotle, Porphyry,

* Kett on Prophecy, vol. ii. p. 124.

† Fleury, *Mœurs des Chrétiens*, part 4, c. 53, p. 244. Bruxelles, 1726.

‡ Ibid. p. 246.

the theologians of the sentences,—these are the fruitless studies of the age. There is nothing I so burn for, as to strip bare that actor who has deluded the Church, in that truly Grecian mask of his, and to expose his ignominy to all mankind :—that most crafty deluder of the human mind : so much so indeed, that if Aristotle had not been flesh, I should not have blushed to assert that he was the very devil.”* “There is no reasoning or syllogism suited to the things of God ;—Aristotle is to theology as darkness to light.”†

The Jansenists, in like manner, are said to have laid Aristotle’s doctrines to the charge of the Church.

A very recent authority and testimony, —pronounced in all the ripeness of age and intellect, and, though little thought or expected by those who then heard him, from within a short distance of the grave,—will hardly be less respected ; and none of his inclinations or predilections could have been effectual to lead his mind in that direction. Dr. Arnold thus delivered his sentiments and experience, upon the whole subject which I am treating of. “We derive scarcely one drop of our blood from Roman fathers ; we are in our race strangers to Greece, and strangers to Israel. But morally, how much do we derive from all three. In this respect their life is in a manner continued in ours ; their influences, to say the least, have not perished. Here then we have, if I may so speak, the ancient world still existing, but with a new element added, the element of our English

* Letter to John Langus, quoted, “Waddington’s History of the Church,” p. 67.

† Idem, Exposition of his Doctrines, 1517, quoted *ibid.* p. 70.

race.”* “The peculiar stamp of the middle ages is undoubtedly German; the change manifested in the last three centuries, has been owing to the revival of the older elements with greater power, so that the German element has been less manifestly predominant.”† “For the last 1800 years, Greece has fed the human intellect; Rome, taught by Greece, and improving upon her teacher, has been the source of law and government, and social civilization.”‡

Having these, among many other authorities,§ for the

* Dr. Arnold's Inaugural Lecture on the Study of Modern History, delivered in the Theatre, Oxford, December 2, 1841, p. 35.

† Ibid. p. 36.

‡ Ibid. p. 38. It is said of Fox, and other eminent men, in the way of praise, that they soothed their minds when under excitement and affliction by reading the classics. If we were to hear of a Hindoo making the same use of our Scriptures, we should consider him to be more than half converted.

§ See S. Athanas. Orat. con. Gentes; S. August. Confess. lib. i. cc. 15, 16, 17. S. Gregory, in one of his Epistles, says, “That he would not have bishops teach human learning; because they must praise Jupiter with the same mouth wherewith they sing the praise of our Lord. He says, “This is not suitable even for pious laymen.” Georg. Pasor. Lexicon in Nov. Test. His whole preface, “De vera juventutis institutione,” is a treatise on the mischievous character and effects of heathen literature.

“Je sçai ce qui a decrié les siècles dont je parle, c'est la prevention des humanistes du quinzième siècle, un Laurens-Valle, un Platine, un Ange Politien. Ces pretendus savans, ayant plus de litterature, que de religion et de bon sens, ne s'arrêtoient qu'à l'écorce; et ne pouvoient rien goûter que les écrivains de l'ancienne Rome, et de l'ancienne Grèce. Ainsi ils avoient un souverain mépris pour les écrits du moyen-âge, et comptoient que l'on avoit tout perdu, en perdant la pure Latinité et la politesse des anciens. Ce préjugé passa aux Protestans, qui regardoient le renouvellement des études, comme la source de leur

seemingly extravagant doctrine, that the image of pagan Rome is revived among us, and has received life and power again in the very midst of Christendom, I may proceed to delineate some of the features of this image ; and to show their strict resemblance with those of their progenitor and prototype.

There is a Liberty—in name the same—proclaimed to the Christian world, as the fruit of Christian belief and practice. But the liberty which we proclaim to ourselves, and which we are making more and more the object of our idolatry, and the palladium of our citadel, is altogether founded upon a heathen model, and upon Grecian and Roman principles. We “inhale during the ardour of youth the maxims and the spirit of classical freedom ;” *—and our motives to it are all selfish, and none of them self-denying ; but such as may be engendered and fed by the study of heathen philosophers and poets, and the historians of their unceasing wars of jealousy and aggression, and civil dissensions. And reformation.”—*Fleury, Discours sur l'Hist. Eccles. depuis 600 jusqu'à 1100, sect. 25.*

“Voyons donc comment on étudioit la philosophie, et commençons par la logique. Ce n'étoit plus, comme elle étoit dans son institution, l'art de raisonner juste et de chercher la vérité par les voyes les plus sûres : c'étoit un exercice de disputer et de subtiliser à l'infini.”—*Id. Cinquième Discours, sect. 8.*

“Et en vérité il est étonnant que les Chrétiens ayant entre les mains l'Ecriture sainte, aient crû avoir besoin d'Aristote pour apprendre la morale. . . . Les pères avoient méprisé ce philosophe, quoiqu'ils l'entendissent parfaitement. . . . Au contraire nos docteurs du douzième et du treizième siècle, qui en faisoient leur oracle, et le nommoient le philosophe par excellence,” &c.—*Id. ibid. sect. 9.*

See also Hooker's *Eccles. Pol. bk. iii. s. 8.*

* Alison's *History of Europe*, vol. i. p. 41.

how has this principle operated and shown itself, in the French Revolution for example, where it once attained to ripeness? "Religion was never once alluded to by the popular party;—classical images; reference to the freedom and spirit of antiquity, formed the great means of public excitation; the names of Brutus, and Cato, and Scipio, and Themistocles, were constantly flowing from their lips; the national assembly never resounded with such tumultuous applause as when some fortunate allusion to the heroes of Greece or Rome was made; the people never were wrought up to such a state of fervour, as when they were called on to follow the example of the patriots of the ancient republics."*

I shall show, in a subsequent Essay, that we are rehearsing over again all the leading principles of the French Revolution; it is sufficient in this place to observe, that it is pride and selfishness and the love of power which constitute liberty, according to our notion and aim, and that the whole question is among us, as it was among the Romans and Greeks, which party shall have the reins of government and its advantages, and what shall be the number of the tyrants. The same pride rules among us, and has been shown in our embassies to China, which demanded, when Timagoras the Athenian, who was sent by them as ambassador to the King of Persia, had the imprudence to degrade his country by the act of prostration, that he should be condemned to die on his return. The proud and petulant republicans, whose element was war and bloodshed,

* Alison's History of Europe, vol. i. p. 125.

and who understood not the arts of domestic life and peace in their own countries or families, were self-applauded for calling the Asiatics barbarians, because their own ignorance and self-conceit prevented their seeing or believing the contradiction of it, in the exercise of the domestic arts and accomplishments, and the active performance of the social duties of life, and peace, and happiness.

Our aim, like the Greeks, is to extol and exalt human nature. The human mind and spirit must not be broken, or degraded. Boys must not be chastised with the rod, because it lowers their spirit and dignity; and no motives of fear or force must be used to elicit application and good conduct, but learning must be pursued because it is profitable and pleasant,—and it must be made palatable and amusing for this purpose;—and right conduct must be shown to be our interest, and be followed from conviction and reason. Self-love and self-indulgence are better habits than the love of parents, and obedience! because the reason is left free, and exercised, and indulged! As if the indulgence of reason and self-will were not sure to lead to pride and a tyrannical spirit; and the indulgence of self-love and appetite to the perversion and abuse of reason.

Are we a people then that approve the precept, “Happy are the poor in spirit?” or this, “Happy are the proud?” Are we then more Christians? or, are we more nearly heathens?

We extol and exalt human nature; and we revive and re-establish the Greek and Roman worship of man, and the deification of humanity. There is a new ele-

ment revived in our philosophical creed, and set side by side with our Christian profession, a "Faith in Humanity." The spirit of the phrase is in every mouth; but it is by no one more openly enunciated than by Dr. Channing:—

"It shows a want of *faith in God and humanity* to deny to others and ourselves free scope, and the expansion of our best powers.

"What I most lament in these apprehensions is, the utter distrust of human nature which they discover."

"There is sprung up a faith, of which antiquity knew nothing, in the final victory of truth and right, in the elevation of men to a clearer intelligence, to more fraternal union, and to a purer worship. This faith is taking its place among the springs of human action, is becoming even a passion in more fervent spirits. I hail it as a prophecy which is to fulfil itself. . . . We are beginning to learn, that the intellectual, moral, social world has its motion too, not fixed and immutable like that of matter, but one which the free-will of men is to carry on, and which, instead of returning into itself, like the earth's orbit, is to stretch forward for ever. This hope lightens the mystery and burthen of life. It is a star which shines on me in the darkest night; and I should rejoice to reveal it to the eyes of my fellow-creatures."

"I have thus spoken of the present age." *

* The Present Age; by Dr. Channing. Bristol, Philp and Evans; London, Simpkin & Co., pp. 22, 24, 34. The reprint of this particular address in England, and the general circulation of Dr. Channing's works, show that the sentiments are popular elsewhere than in America.

These sentiments are current and popular among us, though not in general so openly expressed. Man is deified and worshipped. Man is become the fellow and fellow-worker with God, as Dr. Channing frequently expresses it. God in Christ condescended to brotherhood with his saints on earth,—and we exalt ourselves to brotherhood with God in heaven. God in Christ clothed himself with our flesh, and purified and sanctified it, and admitted those whom he purifies in like manner, to a participation with this his nature,—we have taken the fallen nature of man, and made it an image of God, and worshipped it.

This proclaiming of liberty to human nature, is a proclaiming liberty to our passions, as well bad as good; as the proclaiming liberty and dominion to our reason, is a licence to youth and folly, to set itself against age and authority and real wisdom.

Therefore age and authority are derided and disesteemed, parents are ridiculed and despised, and are to be instructed by their children. It is said that children ought to be taken away from the contamination of their homes and parents, and be educated by the state. This also is of Greece.

Therefore antiquity is slighted :—not the antiquity of Greece and Rome, and classical antiquity,—because the human mind, especially the proud and untamed and ill-directed mind, is so servile that it must find a master :—but ancestors and rulers are derided and slandered and degraded, and we have no reverence or respect for our fathers by nature or office, our domestic, our spi-

ritual, and our political fathers. The bankrupt in name and fortune keep in awe the respectable and the rich, as Aristophanes pourtrayed of the Athenians.* This also is of Greece. Well did Matthias Prideaux inquire, long since, "Whether Socinianism and slighting of all antiquity be not an introduction to paganism and atheism."†

The effect of our liberty in religion presents one singular coincidence in its operation. There are said to have been 30,000 sects in the Christian Church.—This is the exact number to which the gods are said to have attained in the Roman Pantheon.‡

The tyrannical spirit of freedom has attained to the same results in modern states as it did in Rome and Greece, and produced the same oppression of the working classes. In Athens there were some 20,000 freemen; being one many-headed tyrant over 400,000 slaves. There was about the same proportion in Lacedæmon. The free Americans hold an overwhelming majority of black slaves under subjection; and the tyranny and severity of the Americans, and of the English, in the West Indies, over their slaves, has been

* So Charmides, in the banquet of Xenophon, is introduced as stating the advantage his present poverty has over his former affluence. "Now I threaten others, instead of their threatening me. I can go into or out of town without any one taking exception. The rich now pay respect to me; they rise to me; and offer me their chair; they give me the wall. In a word, I am now a king, I was then a slave." — *Xenoph. Conviv.*, c. 4.

† Introduction to History, p. 155, ed. 1664.

‡ Varro.

everywhere shown, as it was in Sparta and Rome, to be infinitely more selfish and cruel than that of masters towards their slaves under monarchical governments.

Again, the condition of the lower orders in England at this time is closely assimilating itself to that which existed in the Roman empire at the period of their final corruption, and consequent destruction. It is related by Ammianus Marcellinus, "that when Rome fell before the forces of Alaric, the whole of Italy and Africa was in the hands of 1760 great families, who resided at Rome, and cultivated their immense estates by means of slaves.*" "The race of independent cultivators had entirely disappeared before the engrossing wealth of the patrician classes.†" Now those who have acquainted themselves with the agricultural counties of England, must have perceived, how the large and important class of possessors of small landed properties have been declining rapidly during the last thirty years, till they have become almost extinct; especially in the counties of Sussex and Devonshire, where they used to be most numerous. At the same time the landed proprietors have left their estates, and spend their time and fortunes in London and places of amusement; and the cultivators of the land drag on a servile and hopeless existence, without the countenance and encouragement of the receivers of the produce, with constantly lowering wages, under the irretrievable oppression of high-rented and struggling farmers.

I would scarcely allude to the monopolies and op-

* Ammian. Marcell. 14, 6.

† Alison on Population, ii. 47, 48.

pressions of the manufacturing capitalists, because the resemblance is not so exact ; but the same principle is carried out by them only to a ten-fold greater extent of selfishness and oppression. The greater capitalists are systematically overpowering and destroying the smaller manufacturers ; and the labouring poor are used, and their powers and lives are sported with, as if they were cattle which we may at our will either breed and multiply, or destroy ; or rather as tools and machines which may be resumed or laid aside, as we please, and at our convenience.

Mr. Alison gives the proportion of the class of landed proprietors in England, namely, 1 in 60, of the population, including their families.* This is a smaller proportion than in any other country ; because we have carried the principles of modern civilization to a higher pitch, and a more classical perfection.

The history of the poor and the poor laws in Greece and Rome, when verging to their decline, was almost exactly that of this country at the present moment :—a grievous oppression of the poor, together with a vast distribution of public and legalized relief, which degraded and discontented and demoralized the recipients ; or rather, the oppression of riches and civilization produced that degree of poverty and misery among the working classes, which made necessary a public provision, however destructive and disorganizing, lest the people should possess themselves of the property of the country for very despair and recklessness.

“The city now abounds with beggars,” says Isocrates,

* Alison on Population, ii. 48.

“and the country with vagabonds.” “The whole city is filled with lamentations; the poor grieve apart, unrelieved and unnoticed.”

“The poor, who, whilst they were assisted by the charity of their countrymen, preserved their virtues and their industry, when they were entitled by law to a certain provision, abandoned themselves to a degrading and reckless indolence; charity lost both its blessings. What the rich bestowed was the offering of their fears, and given without a hope or intention of doing good; it was eagerly seized by the poor, but with feelings rather of discontent at what was withheld, than of gratitude for what was bestowed. The poor increased in wretchedness and number, till they exceeded those who had property. One-third of the citizens were daily provided with the means of subsistence as paupers, and used their leisure to support the schemes of the demagogues, which tended to make all others as wretched as themselves.

“The contentions and pauperism of the Athenians continued to augment, so that when Athens submitted to Antipater, 12,000 out of the 20,000 citizens were struck off the rolls, as unfit, on account of their poverty, to take any share in the government of the city.” *

The history of the poor at Rome is still more strikingly analogous.

Distributions of corn to the poor began to be practised from the time of the expulsion of the kings. Afterwards it was made compulsory and regular, by the laws of the

* Robinson's Ancient Poor Laws, p. 33, 34.

Gracchi, the Sempronian laws, the Octavian, and the Clodian laws.*

“The quantity received by each citizen was seemingly the same as a slave was entitled to from his master. M. Lepidus calls it scornfully “a prison allowance; enough perhaps to avert instant death, and to enable the poor to starve by degrees, but insufficient to maintain a family and home.”

“In the time of Julius Cæsar, 320,000 citizens were receiving the public corn; but after a census, in which he examined the people from house to house, he struck off from this number 170,000. The persons relieved were registered, a provision was made to supply vacancies occurring in the list, and the prætor was constantly to keep up the number to 150,000.”†

Augustus altered the distributions to four times a year; but was forced to return to the monthly distribution. The number increased to 200,000. At one time, when there remained only three days' consumption in the public granaries, he had resolved to poison himself, unless the corn fleets arrived.

Several attempts were made by the emperors to recede from this destructive state of things. But “notwithstanding any endeavours to the contrary, pauperism gradually spread itself over nearly the whole population.” “The distribution of corn under the Clodian law continued, with little variation, until the downfall of the empire.” *

* Robinson's *Ancient Poor Laws*, p. 38 to 43.

† Ibid. p. 44.

‡ Ibid. p. 44 to 49.

So, in spite of palliations, and remedies, and new improvements, the pauperism consequent upon the principles of Roman civilization, and the debasement and discontent and disorganization consequent upon the necessary resort to public relief, when private virtues and sympathies and affections became extinct, continued to be an increasing instrument for undermining and overthrowing this once vigorous empire, and of torturing it in death.

There is another feature in our poor system, which stands convicted of a resemblance to the Grecian philosophy. Plato recommended that all beggars should be banished from his republic; and we have not only made it criminal to beg relief, but the French Directory declared it a crime to give charity; and we have subscribed to the same law in effect by general consent and understanding.

Another feature of resemblance to Rome is in the great and increasing corruption of our capital cities; which are now generally described as the hotbeds of vice, and the receptacles of rank and fermenting masses of crime and filthiness. The great corruption which we are ready to acknowledge is among the working classes; but independent of the rich being the cause, by their neglect, of this corruption of the lower orders, the selfishness and avarice of our great trading capitalists, and the degradation of the mercantile character to low trick and cunning, and of the habits of trade to practices bordering upon fraud, and to speculation bordering upon gambling, which are increasing, show

that the portrait is growing not only to a likeness of particular features, but to a general resemblance.

Tacitus says of Rome, that there every thing in the world that was foul and infamous resorted, and was habitually practised.*

Sallust relates, that “every one who exceeded the rest of men in depravity and profligacy, all who had lost their patrimony and character in the world, all whom wickedness or disgrace had driven from their homes, found their way to Rome, as to the common sewer of the republic.” †

“Under the name of Roman,” said Bishop Liutprand, “we include whatever is base, whatever is cowardly, whatever is perfidious, the extremes of avarice and luxury, and every vice that can prostitute the dignity of human nature.” ‡

Fleury says of the Romans in the fourth century, “that they were immersed in luxury, and delicacy, and prided themselves upon a false refinement.” §

If the stern Roman character could be so dishevelled and debased by riches and power and conquest, let us see whether our own British virtue and honour be not gradually relaxing, and being shattered and dissolved by the luxuries and refinements of wealth, and the pride of prosperity and empire.

Our theatrical representations furnish another parallel with the manners of Rome ; which attained in this re-

* Tacit. Annal. 15.

† Sallust, Bell. Catalin. s. 37.

‡ Quoted, Kett on Prophecy, vol. ii. p. 11.

§ Mœurs des Chrétiens, part 4, s. 44.

spect to a greater profligacy than Greece. Read the following descriptions side by side; and they seem meant for a description of the same state of things. St. Cyprian thus laments the abuse of the Roman stage:

After alluding to the gladiatorial shows, he then turns "with sorrow and shame to the theatre. It is called stage representation," he says, "to recount in verse the enormities of former times; the by-gone sin of parricide and incest is unfolded in representation fashioned to the life, lest the crimes which have been perpetrated should be forgotten by the lapse of time. Each succeeding age is reminded by what it hears, that what has been done before, can be committed again; offences die not with the lapse of ages, crime is not drowned in years, nor wickedness buried in forgetfulness, deeds gone by in the perpetration, still live in the example. In mimic representations, men are drawn on, by lessons of impurity, to review openly what they have done in secret, or to hear told what they may do hereafter. Adultery is learnt, while it is seen; and while this evil, publicly sanctioned, inveigles to vice, the matron returns from the scene, with a loss of the modesty which perchance she took to it."*

Let us now look again on the modern picture.

In the 50th volume of the *Quarterly Review* (for March 1834), the state of the French drama is reviewed. The following general description of its character and features there appears. "Bastardy, seduction, rape, adultery and incest, as motives—the poniard, poison-

* St. Cyprian. Tract on the Grace of God. Altered from the translation in the *Library of Fathers*, vol. iii.

and prostitution, as means—this is the gamut; and even these original notes they contrive to repeat in the same monotonous succession, borrowing from themselves, and from one another, with the least possible variety of combination.”* The same passage goes on to detail more particularly, the specific facts and instances upon which this description is founded.

M. Frequier also, in his recent work on “The Dangerous Classes of Paris,” “denounces loudly the mischievous tendency of the French drama—the malefactor, as well as the romantic division of it; for our neighbours,” observes the reviewer, “at the present moment are, like ourselves, great admirers of the Newgate style of literature.” And the same reviewer thus describes the similar character and tendency of our own theatres.

“Our ephemeral dramas are many of them mere remodellings of the mass of periodical trash which is now poured out upon us in a still increasing flood—each monthly issue more worthless than the last. How such works can be tolerated by the public is matter of absolute wonderment. Were this vulgarity and vice redeemed by any talent, any development of character, any graces of language, our surprise would be less. The writers of this class have one and only one device for obtaining popular favour—that of conglomerating crimes. Every page must have its two or three catastrophes; and they dabble in their atrocities, one to every twenty lines, as regularly as if they were planting cauliflowers. With them every thing depends upon the abundance of blood and brains,—and provided the murders, robberies, rapes,

treasons, trials and executions, are sufficiently numerous, and they can get some poor artist to prostitute his pencil for their illustration—the sale is sure to be extensive, and the minor theatres lose no time in dramatizing the new masterpiece.”*

The gladiatorial shows however, and the fighting with wild beasts, might at least have been expected to form a contrast to the taste and habits of Christian civilization. But the bull-fights were the invention and delight of one of the most civilized ages and nations of Christendom; and above it is said, that, with us, everything depends upon the abundance of blood and brains;—and the other day Samuel Scott hung himself (by mistake!) in the presence of three to five thousand English people; and even now Van Amburgh has been seen, and is to be seen, fighting with wild-beasts, and being torn by them, under the patronage of nobility, and in the midst of admiring and applauding assemblies.

The increasing use and importance of newspapers, and ephemeral literature, is rapidly becoming a counterpart to the Athenian appetite for continually hearing and seeing some new thing. This is the age of newspapers. There never surely was any age so quickly and easily caught by the very phantoms of discovery and invention, the first gusts of news, and the toys of fashion. Geology, craniology, phrenology, mesmerism, electro-magnetism, Daguerreotypography, become the prevailing philosophic topic in their turn, in quick succession, and each to be laid aside for some new philosophical mania.

* Quart. Rev. No. 129, p. 39, 40.

The most instructive works, and the most momentous events, when two years old, are passed by and forgotten. Tar-water, metallic tractors, electricity, galvanism, mustard-seed, respirators, brandy and salt, homœopathy, hydropathy, twelve ounce doctors, St. John Long, Morrison, each in rapid turn, occupy the throne of medicine, and despotically sacrifice some hecatombs of lives of their free, self-devoting subjects.

And the love of truth is lost in this reckless, heartless, headless search after what is new and exciting. Josephus notices that the Greeks were not given to truth. "*Græcia mendax*" fell into a gibe and a proverb. The Greeks had received many truths historically, such as the origin of the world, the rotundity of the globe, the central position of the sun, and others ;—but they philosophized themselves out of the knowledge and belief; and having reasoned everything backwards and forwards, and over and over again, and found that every opinion might be supported by argument, but that none could be made conclusive, they became reckless of reality and truth, as if there were no such thing in effect; and wearied with effort and excitement, and fruitless hopes, and vain discussions, settled at length into a sceptical indifferentism. We are approaching towards the same end, by a similar process.

But one marked distortion of feature, under this head, which likens us to the Grecian monster, is in respect of artistical falsehood. It is of the essence of the fine arts, and the beau ideal, to deal in untruth. This taste and acquirement we boastfully borrow from Greece; and it has tended as much as anything, from

the beginning, to draw us into kindred and unison with the Græcia mendax.

The very profession of the fine arts, of poetry, painting, sculpture, the drama, is to misrepresent nature; and oratory also and rhetoric, which is “the chair of lies,” bring the falsehood down to practice, and the business of life. Unities and exaggerations, of time and place, and light and colour, are required, which nature does not present. We are as false in requiring exaggeration of shade, as the Chinese in using none. Uniformity in feature and face is resorted to in sculpture, which are not found in the real example. High foreheads are pourtrayed and exaggerated, to suit an opinion, so as to falsify philosophical truth. Great minds are put into tall bodies; giving the lie to general experience. St. Paul is painted as a tall man, giving the lie to sacred history. So orators, generals, statesmen, emperors, philosophers, are made men of great stature. The most ridiculous instance is that of making a poet taller than his companions.

Musæum ante omnes; medium nam plurima turba

Hunc habet, atque humeris extantem suspicit altis.†

All these things are deliberately and studiously practised, and imitated from the approved example of Greece; and the world admire and doat on them; and the artists obey the servile tastes and dicta of their patrons, and pride and pique themselves upon the purity and truth of their own work, and have not the sense and understanding to say, “is there not a lie in my right hand?” Even histories are written to support opinions, and for

† Virgil. *Æneid.* 6, 667.

display, and as exhibitions of fine writing, and not as plain narratives of facts ; being in this respect also imitations of the Greeks, and opposite to the spirit and practice of the Asiatic nations. They are made exercises of skill and trials of ingenuity, to see how far facts may be accumulated and marshalled, to support particular theories and prejudices of parties. Josephus says, in like manner, of the Grecian historians, "that they were not solicitous for the discovery of truth."*

This habit of mind, thus in alliance with falsehood, is praised by us, and sought after as the standard of truth in taste ; and the like taste and spirit extends to our habits of judgment in other subjects. Our principles of reasoning become artificial as our tastes in the fine arts, and as nearly bordering upon falsehood. An artificial refinement of mind, and a classical education and exercise in the habits of thought and reasoning, are considered an essential preparation for the acquisition of knowledge, and the discovery of the highest truth. A man must have a gentlemanly education to fit him for the true study and discernment of Christianity. That is, a falseness of mind is the best preparative for truth. No wonder that such a system should give the lie to the words of Gospel truth, and say, "Many wise after the flesh, many mighty, many noble are called." "It is easier for the rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." It is no wonder, that the teachers and observers of such a system, should have assumed to themselves the key of knowledge ; and should neither enter

* Josephus con. Apion. bk. 1, s. 5.

in themselves, and should hinder those who would enter in. The simplicity of the Gospel and the Cross is again to us Greeks foolishness.*

If Jesus Christ were to appear again among us in poor and lowly guise, and walking in a humble station of life, is it likely that we should recognize him?

* The Quakers have, more than others in modern times, acknowledged the ability of the poor to comprehend the whole of Christianity;—and they reject the notion of using classical literature in aid of it. They say, “men of deep learning know frequently less of spiritual Christianity than those of the poor who are scarcely able to read the Scriptures.” They contend, that “if the Scriptures were the most vitally understood by those of the most learning, then the dispensations of God would be partial, inasmuch as he would have excluded the poor from the highest enjoyment of which the nature of man is susceptible, and from the means of their eternal salvation.” “They reject all school divinity, as necessarily connected with the ministry. They believe that if a knowledge of Christianity had been obtainable by the acquisition of the Greek and Roman languages, and through the medium of the Greek and Roman philosophers, the Greeks and Romans themselves had been the best proficient in it; whereas the Gospel was only foolishness to many of these. They say, with St. Paul to the Colossians, ‘beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the traditions of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ.’ And they say with the same Apostle to Timothy, ‘O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called; which some professing have erred concerning the faith.’” (1 Tim. vi. 20, 21.) “We find Justin the Martyr, a Platonic philosopher, but who was afterwards one of the earliest Christian writers after the apostles, and other learned men after him down to Chrysostom, laying aside their learning and their philosophy for the school of Christ. The first authors of the Reformation also contended for this doctrine. Luther and Calvin, both of them, supported it. Wickliff, the first Reformer of the English Church, and Tyndal the Martyr, the first translator of the Bible into the English language, supported it also. In 1652, Sydrach Simpson, master of Pembroke

If Jesus Christ is to come again in the flesh, shall we receive and recognize him?

Will not our Lord Jesus Christ, when he shall come again, be denied in Christendom?

Hall, in Cambridge, preached a sermon before the university, contending that the Universities corresponded to the schools of the prophets, and that human learning was an essential qualification for the priesthood. This sermon, however, was answered by William Dell, master of Caius College, in the same university; in which he stated, after having argued the point in question, that the universities did not correspond to the schools of the prophets, but to those of heathen men; that Plato, Aristotle, and Pythagoras were more honoured there than Moses or Christ; that grammar, rhetoric, logic, ethics, physics, metaphysics, and the mathematics, were not the instruments to be used in the promotion or the defence of the Gospel; that Christian schools had originally brought men from heathenism to Christianity, but that university schools were like to carry men from Christianity to heathenism again."—*Clarkson's Portraiture of Quakerism*, vol. ii. 134, 135, 249, ed. 1807.

Unhappily the Quakers have been departing from some of their best principles, of simplicity in education and manners; and hence they have given scope to the dangerous points in their system to develop themselves, which are leading many of them into infidelity.

ESSAY IX.

CONSUMMATION OF THE FINAL APOSTACY.

CHARACTER AND SIGNS OF THE TIMES—FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY
—ROMISH ERRORS—SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY—THE FINAL
APOSTACY—SECOND EPISTLE OF ST. PETER—EPISTLE OF ST. JUDE—
QUOTATION FROM THE REV. E. BICKERSTETH.

It is fit that we should contemplate the advance of that final apostacy which shall precede the second coming of our Lord: when he shall destroy the nation or nations, the powers and principles, of the dominion of Antichrist, and establish his kingdom. It is true that the several symptoms of this evil have been observed, and their consequences predicted, each in their very first rise; and now that the symptoms have made progress, and taken hold of the system, we notice them but little, and think that as we still exist, when the disease is ten-fold greater, that all these must have been bad physicians and false prophets, and that our safety and freedom from death is demonstrated by the length of life which we have lived, and by experience. It is those who have enjoyed the greatest and the most even health, who are the most alarmed at the first appearances of illness; and it is impossible, as I have shown,* for the

* Essay II.

public mind, and most difficult for any individual, to perceive the mischief of those habits and symptoms which are become a part of the system and constitution.

It must also be admitted, that great advances towards an improvement in religious activity, and liberal contribution to sacred objects, have to be admired of late years. But independent of the much more rapid and extensive increase of its opposites, so that it must be looked upon rather as a defensive than an aggressive movement,—I fear that, like the greatest and most perfect of all reformatations in the Hebrew commonwealth, wherewith Josiah purified it more than it ever had been made pure, this present revulsion is only a prelude to like utter and irretrievable disasters to those which came upon the Jews and Jerusalem for their still ever increasing and overflowing rebellions.

It is the marked feature of these, as it is to be of the last times, that many run to and fro, and knowledge is increased. These distinctions have characterized the whole of the last three centuries; but does it not at this time look like a consummation?

Almost all the nations of the world are inwardly convulsed and disorganized, and fermenting with a political uneasiness and discontent, and longing after repeated changes upon changes, towards they know not what.—Kings are ashamed and confounded, and thrones and governments are shaken and vacated, and they that sit in them are ready to hide themselves from the storm which is gathering over them, and the pitiless wrath.—The largest armies that ever existed are collected together and maintained, by way of peace establishments,

and for defence ; and are ready and eager to engage, and can hardly be restrained from engaging in war, with the most murderous weapons that ever were invented, for no one worthy or important or assignable object, at a time when it is universally pretended to be confessed, that war must bring to all disaster, and to no one profit.

The churches in all countries, nationally speaking, must be considered to be going to pieces. The spoliation of church property is becoming the object and practice everywhere,—in Spain, in Switzerland, in Rome, in Ireland, in England. The clergy are looked upon with doubt and apprehension by the government :—in most countries they are despised ; in England too they are hated.* Men pay tithes more cheerfully to the lay-impropriators than

* Germany, &c. by Gleig, vol. i. pp. 102, 110, et seq. Prussia.

“The archbishop, being at the head of the priesthood, he was, as a matter of course, the most obnoxious person in Paris. The French don't like priests.”—*Unit. Serv. Journ.* 1830, p. 546.

“It is the peculiar feature in the Popish-Protestant Church of England, that its tithe-fed priests and their country flocks are in harmony only when mischief and injustice to the community are to be perpetrated. If we wanted proof that a law was bad, we should require nothing better than the fact that a grasping and overpaid priesthood zealously supported it.”—*English Newspaper.*

A magistrate of character and influence complained at a meeting of gentlemen on public business, speaking the sentiments of those with whom he acted, that the clergy, as a body, opposed and prevented every improvement in his county.

These expressions were current two or three years since, though they are not the fashion of the present season. It is not the fact of such expressions being used by individuals which indicates the temper of the times, but their being used publicly, at this period, when public men accommodate themselves so habitually to the prevailing fashion and opinion.

to the clergyman:—it is the very *name* of tithes which is hated.* Infidelity prevails in Roman Catholic countries; dissent, and free-thinking bordering upon Deism, in the Protestant states. Colonies and nations are peopled, without a provision being made by government for the support of churches or clergy:—even the slight assistance which was formerly given to this object, is either withdrawn or diminished.† If it is truly reported, in Nova Scotia, each clergyman has in his charge a district averaging in extent 446 square miles:—in the island of Cape Breton, in the same colony, the length of which is 100 miles and the breadth 80, and the population 30,000, there are only two clergymen.‡ In Australia things are rather worse than better. In Norfolk Island there is not one single clergyman of the Church of England.§ Five years ago, there were in the whole colony not more than eight acting and efficient clergymen.|| It is charged against the English by every Mahometan and idolater with whom they come in contact, that they have no religion; and this charge is mostly warranted and justified, inasmuch as they have been as wanting in moral conduct and practice as in outward religious observance.

Another marked and expressive feature is the sufferings and distresses, and the heartless oppressions of the poor.¶ This is the certain characteristic of an over-

* House of Commons Debate, June 25, 1839; Educational Grant.

† The clergy reserves in Canada. The annual grant to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

‡ Colonial Church Record; Ap. Soc. Gaz. No. 3, p. 45.

§ Speech of Rev. A. M. Campbell, at Bath, Jan. 31, 1839.

|| Ibid. The town of Sydney alone contains 16,000 free inhabitants.

¶ In addition to and in corroboration of what I have elsewhere said

grown, effete, and rapidly declining state. It was so in Rome, Athens, and Judæa; and in the last case it is expressly named as one among the chief causes of the judgments which were denounced upon that heavily afflicted nation.* The classes of society are no longer held together by any personal attachment or kindness, or affectionate intercourse. The only bond which attaches men together is party and opposition. They are united in offensive and defensive warfare. Thus it is a union of disunion. It is the friendship of a common hatred: the association of division: the concord of discord: the aggregation of repulsion. The ancient bands and obligations are dissolved; the former duties and principles are denied; and new rights and powers and self-formed governments are erected, in religion, in morals, and in politics. All are equally characterized by an intensity of conceit, independence, and enmity:—the mark by which Christians are especially characterized is hatred and selfishness. It seems to be true, as it has been said, that “the demons of infidelity, blasphemy, confusion and sedition, are busy in their dark deeds, and would gladly overturn all that makes life happy in church and state.†”

Examples of the triumph of reason over religion, of the rights of man over the rights of God, are furnished by the recent marriage and registration acts. By the respecting the harsh feelings towards the poor, a Cabinet minister is reported to have made this answer, when it was asserted in the House of Commons that the poor were fed no better than dogs—“If it were so,” he said, “their masters pay for their dogs’ food, but these do not pay anything for what they have to eat.”

* Isai. iii. 14, 15; x. 2; Jer. v. 28; xxii. 3, 5, 13, 17; Mi. iii. 3.

† Marriott’s Sermon. i. 258; “Thy kingdom come.”

first of these, marriage without religious sanction and obligation is facilitated and encouraged by the authority of the legislature. In St. Pancras parish the baptisms are decreased by 600 in the year, and in St. Margaret's, Westminster, by 300. The proportion is still greater in some other parishes; and since the passing of the act for the registration of births, this effect is general. And it is nearly certain that few if any of these numbers of children are baptized elsewhere. The civil ceremony of registering the name and the religious rite of baptism are confounded in the minds of the common people; and they think, when the name is registered according to the provision of the legislature, that every thing is complete.

These acts were a concession to the devilish pretension of reason and liberty, that "no man is answerable for his creed."

Another rebellion against God, begun in this generation, is the comparative impunity of crime:—the practice of examining the circumstances of crime,—excusing and accounting for it by temptation,—“the serpent beguiled me:”—the temptations are considered to be too great, especially in political offences—even to death:—till the command of God is set at naught and denied, that “Whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed.” We are not to sin, though under temptation:—and without trial sin would not exist:—and from every temptation there is an escape.

But let us pass on to a review of that catalogue of offences, by which, St. Paul tells us, the apostacy of the last times shall be characterized. They are contained in the 1st and 2nd Epistles to Timothy. Let us

go through the whole catalogue ; and we shall see how exactly the features of society, and the habits and passions which rule in these times, correspond to each of them.

In the 4th chapter of the 1st Epistle to Timothy, St. Paul thus prophesies :—

“ Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils ; speaking lies in hypocrisy ; having their conscience seared with a hot iron ; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth.”

I consider, with many others, that this reflects upon the Romish errors ; which precede in their rise and growth those of the very last apostacy, as this prophecy preceded that in the 2nd of Timothy, which relates to the final Antichrist. The spirit of error and deceit, and the superstitions borrowed from devils, or the heathen worship, which characterize the Romish yoke, and weave the ensnaring meshes of their net, seem to be expressly pointed out, and prophesied of, in this description. The pious frauds, and false miracles, put forth for the vulgar, in which their teachers themselves do not believe,—these are there expressly designated, as hypocritical lies. Such ministers of the holy things of God must indeed have their minds and consciences cauterized. And their error is not in recommending and encouraging celibacy and fleshly mortifications, but in *forbidding* to marry, and forcing to abstain by fast-

ing according to a set rule ; thereby returning back to the flesh from the spirit,—from worship to ceremonial,—and tempting to every kind of abuse and evasion,—through putting a yoke upon the neck of the disciples which neither we nor our fathers have been able to bear.

But the 2nd Epistle to Timothy, in the 3d chapter, speaks of another apostacy, of a different and still deeper character ; and this is the one which seems to be more particularly applicable to our time.* We will pursue its track, and trace its footsteps in order.

“ This know also, that in the last days (ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις) perilous times shall come ; for *Men shall be lovers of their ownelves—Covetous—Boasters—Proud—Blasphemers—Disobedient to parents—Unthankful—Unholy—Without natural affection—Truce breakers—False accusers—Incontinent—Fierce—Despisers of those that are good—Traitors—Heady—Highminded—Lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God—Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof.*

Men shall be lovers of their ownelves.—What so marks and distinguishes the character of the present day as selfishness and self-love ? It is openly applauded. It is made a virtue of. In moral philosophy, and the rule of human life, the *selfish system of morals* is the peculiar topic of this era ; and has been the most

* Dr. Kett is of opinion, that the 1st Epistle to Timothy applies to the Papal Antichrist ; the 2nd Epistle, ch. 3 and 4, to a subsequent Antichrist ; and he quotes Mede for this. The 2nd of St. Peter, and St. Jude's Epistle, do neither of them, he says, apply to Papal Antichrist, but to infidelity.—*Kett on Prophecy*, vol. i. p. 387, 388.

approved and growing principle and doctrine of the present generation. In political economy, in like manner, the new and approved dogma is, that *self-interest* is the most sure to direct people right in the adjustments of trade and commerce, and all the mutual money-making dealings between man and man. Into government the same principle has entered and is prevailing, in the doctrine that people are best capable of governing themselves.

Covetous (φιλαργυροί).—This hardly needs illustrating. We are confessedly worshippers of money. Wealth is considered the strength, the palladium of the nation. As often observed, this is the only country in which it is a crime to be poor. Riches are really a virtue. In accordance with this, almost every crime may be expiated by riches;—therefore every thing may be obtained for money;—every desire may be accomplished; every ambition achieved;—every secret may be known;—and, proverbially, every man in England has his price; for if the money be but enough, every crime is palliated and excused by the greatness of this temptation. So fond are we of money, and so great is our opinion of its merits and power, that paid officers are now esteemed to be better than those who give gratuitous services. Good men, it is said, will be plentiful, if good men are in demand and well paid.

Boasters.—The chief topic of our delight is the dignity of human nature:—the capability of our attainments:—the rights of man,—and the rights of the

people:—that we are fellow workers with Christ:—that Christianity is but a step:—that we are just entering upon a new era of invention and discovery, by which we shall carry the world to perfection; and develop the great mystery of religion and liberty, of philanthropy and equality.

Proud (ὕπερηφανοί).—Besides the last, all are struggling to raise themselves above others, and to climb up out of the rank and station in which they were born; and then to tread down all that remain below them;—and this is called a useful motive, and necessary spring, and a political virtue.

Blasphemers.—Infidelity has risen out of the lowest into the genteeler classes, and has lost some of its grossness; but it is vended wholesale instead of retail. It now exists, not in individuals, but in classes. Societies are formed and trained to blasphemy and scepticism. No wonder then that blasphemy may be found among the government of the country, and enter into the great assembly of the nation. The use of the words of Pilate, “What is truth?” by a cabinet minister, in relation to religious differences, as if doubting, it seems, the oneness of Christian truth, has been already noticed. Another member is reported to have said in the House, that “it was as important to preserve men’s lives as their souls; and when millions of money were voted for churches, there might well be a grant for harbours.”

Disobedient to parents (γονεῦσιν ἀπειθεῖς).—This has

been observed upon already in the third Essay. Children are all in advance of their parents, and claim to be their instructors. Considering themselves before them in knowledge, they can ill brook their control; and the least they can assume is an equality of right with them in dictating and governing. The rebellion against past generations, and contempt of the wisdom of our forefathers, is a still more prominent feature in our habits and opinions. It shows itself again in the disobedience to governments, and the people's assumption of the right to govern, and dictate their own laws and punishments; and that it is the people's property, and the people's government, and the people's king. This impious pretension was well parodied by a Frenchman, who is said to have entered into the church of St. Paul, at Paris, during divine service, and to have begun singing profane songs. When the officers tried to remove him, he said, "This church is a monument; the monuments belong to the state; the state is the people; I am a part of the people, and consequently this church belongs partly to me; and as every one does as he pleases in his own house, and as it is my fancy to sing, therefore I sing."* So the House of God too is the people's house. And so it must be:—for if people have become habitually disobedient to their parents and the government, they must soon be rebels also against God.

Unthankful (ἀχαριστοί).—This age is marked and characterized by ingratitude and unkindness. We nei-

* Quoted from the *Droit* newspaper.—*Times*, Feb. 13, 1841.

ther repay obligations, nor incur obligations; nor lay people under obligations by kindness and liberality. No debt but a money debt is acknowledged; and no link or attachment of life is thought effectual which is not based on money, and may be estimated and made good by the payment of it. Respect is not due to parents, beyond the money they have to leave; their wishes and feelings, and their memories are nothing, for they are subject to no money admeasurement. Executors habitually sell their parents' and friends' collections and furniture and valuables,—those things upon which their labour and skill and judgment and affections were bestowed,—with which themselves were identified; and so their memories, and all respect and favour towards them, are at once obliterated. Money engagements are cheap: they may be made the subject of strict economy; therefore no other engagement with our labourers, than that exact one of wages, is recognized or admitted. No further link of kindness, or protection, or familiarity, or gratuity of time or money, may by any means be confessed; the connection begins with the bargain for, and ends with the payment of, wages. Vales and gifts to servants are discontinued—in most places entirely—because there is not an exact balance of services and payment; and everything beyond that is considered to be thrown away. We do not perceive, that more zeal and goodwill may be purchased by a small gift, than by a great payment. But we are not purchasers of good will: which is most useful on great occasions; but of services: which are of everyday use, and may be exactly measured and estimated. In consequence we will not incur an obligation:—we would

avoid letting another person be kind to us, lest we should have to repay his kindness. We would not suffer our child to become the foster child of a peasant,—lest that peasant's family should conceive too great an attachment, and have a permanent claim upon us. In the last result, we would not bestow favours ourselves, or be over kind and liberal to our equals and inferiors,—lest we should cause too great an expectation from us in future, and be embarrassed by their attachment; and find ourselves drawn in by the meshes of kindness and love, which is disinterested and liberal, instead of the bond of money-payment,—which is selfish and economical.

Unholy.—We cannot illustrate this without showing what holiness is; and we cannot exhibit holiness without a pattern, or such a lengthened description as would not find room in this place. But we cannot find a pattern, where holiness is extinct. This matter however must stand admitted. No appearance of real holiness could be introduced among our present habits of life, or even tolerated. The very term “saint,” only exists for opprobrium. Religious ceremony, or habitual devotion, in all places at stated times, like the Mussulman's, must be condemned as profaned by the prevailing manners and usages. According to the words of a dignitary of the Church,—when comparing the progress of Christianity and its causes, in the first ages and in modern times,—“we have this disadvantage” (in our endeavours at conversion),—“an ungodly professing church: so that when we tell the heathens to be converted and become Christians, they tell us, ‘You are no better than we are ;

you are drunkards and swearers, and so on ;' or, as they say in India, 'the Christians have no God.'"*

Without natural affection.—This is not only marked by the separation of classes, which was instanced in their unthankfulness and unkindness towards one another ; but the ties of natural relationship and friendship are loosened, and the feelings blunted, as was at the same time also partially hinted at.

Among the poor, the disposition in families to hold together, and to assist and comfort one another in want and misfortune, has been broken down by the system of poor-laws, and the lowness of wages, which makes it almost impossible for any man to maintain himself. This fact is proved by the endeavours of the legislature to enforce by law those natural duties, which the ills and artifices of society have abrogated. Among the rich, relations become mere acquaintances, through the ambition of all to illustrate themselves in a large circle of visitors, of a rank above their own ; the expensiveness of this plan requiring an economy inconsistent with frequent intercourse of families, and friendly hospitality.

Trucebreakers (ἄσπονδοι, implacabiles).—Nothing is so much gone down as the honour and credit of the British merchant. There is no certainty that men will meet their engagements, unless a writing may be shown for it. A bale of goods of the East India Company would be paid for, and sent up to Pekin without examination, having only their seal upon it ; and a chest

* Speech of the Chancellor of Chester, at the meeting of the Church Missionary Society, April, 1839.

of tea returned from England as inferior, would be received back again upon the faith of their word, without a question. And merchants might have dealt together upon the same footing. Now, few things can be trusted to meet the sample. It is an acknowledged practice in manufacture, to obtain a custom by selling an article at a loss, and afterwards to make a profit upon it by depreciating the quality. But neither individuals nor nations will meet their engagements. Once it was an insult to be called a rogue;—but now it is scarcely a discredit, for a board of directors or a nation to entice men to their ruin, if the stake be but large and noble enough. This subject is too extensive to be touched upon except by these two or three illustrations.

If the expression signify “implacable,”—no reference except to the rancour of parties, the hatred and bitterness among sects, and the estrangement of classes from one another, and from the state, can be necessary to illustrate it.

False-accusers (δισβόλοι).—We are a nation of slanderers and calumniators. Slander is the staple commodity of life, and business, and trade,—in newspapers, in novels, in politics, and conversation. There cannot be any doubt, that truth must be lost sight of, in the spirit, and dispositions, and confusion, which such a practice must arise from and give rise to.

Incontinent (ἀκρατεῖς).—Even the court of a virgin sovereign has been distinguished by the notorious incontinence of those who have been most influential in

it; and marriage infidelity is scarcely reckoned as a crime which ought to exclude men and women from the walks of polished life: more than for a time. In the lower ranks, a numerous association assert the rights and advantages of promiscuous intercourse;—and their leader has been taken by the hand by the prime minister at court, and introduced into the presence.

If the word be translated “unruly,”—what subject, or servant, or wife, or child, or idiot, or unlearned is there, who will obey or listen to any superior wisdom or authority, and not claim a right to act, and think, and to interfere with the actions and thoughts of others as he pleases: till, as must needs be the end, liberty assume the right to take away the liberty of others?

Fierce (ἀνήμεροι, cruel).—The oppression of the poor was never greater in any country or age. In any heathen country it would have given rise to irresistible insurrection. In Christian lands cruelty may proceed further than in heathen; because it can take advantage of what Christian patience and endurance exists, to increase its oppressions. It is the ungodly and irreligious, whose impatience creates the revolutions, which restore the rights of the enduring and patient. The cruelties and misery which competition imposes upon the workmen and children in our manufactories, exceed all that has been heard of among pagan nations. The fierceness too and rage of party spirit is such as leads to intense cruelty. The torture of mind is fully tried, and day by day is ingeniously inflicted. But we have not yet seen what it is to do in this country in open and secret bloodshed.

The reign of terror in France; the civil wars in Portugal and Spain, with the Durango decree, give us signs of what is coming upon us also, and all nations, in the consummation of republican Utopianism; and the customary dealings and delight in tragedy which exist as a habit in Ireland, bring it still nearer home to us. Extreme cruelty is consistent with the highest civilization :—it is the result of it.

Despisers of those that are good (ἀφιλαγαθοί).—The clergy are the most jealously looked upon of any class; and there is no disposition in the government, even now, to increase their power; but they are directly opposed by those who are the most powerful and influential class in this country. The whole theory of government also is opposed to Scripture truth; and in consequence, whosoever would uphold its rule of life, and maintain its wisdom and precepts, is even despised and hated. I refer to the illustrations before given respecting the position of the clergy. Many of these remarks must appear to be inapplicable, through the changes of the last two years. But a change of fashion is not yet a change of character, though happily it may lead to it; and there is ten-fold more to be done, where the greatest improvements have been effected. When I see so many of the principles of the French Revolution reviving among us, after so few years, I cannot but see sufficient reason for every apprehension and warning.

Traitors (προδοταί).—Faith and secrecy is not kept, in public or private transactions. No confidence is held

sacred. The newspapers have begun the practice of buying news at any cost:—and what one editor has begun, all other editors consider themselves entitled and bound to follow. A member of parliament has declared, that he will divulge every secret which comes to his knowledge in his capacity of a legislator. The respective individual opinions of all the judges, in the case of Frost and his accomplices, though delivered in secret, were known on the very evening of their decision; though the use and constitution of the court were violated by this publicity, and the policy of government was embarrassed and frustrated by it. There is a growing want of honour and confidence also in trade. Each new-invented deceit and treachery, if successful, is sure to find its mate; and then becomes current and allowed and irresistible. Men would betray the dearest interests of their friends for money enough; as they do their country for party.

Heady (προπετεις).—The very description we use is, that we are going-a-head. We are rushing headlong, in our changes and reforms, in our inventions, our speculations.—And are we rushing on to ruin? N'importe. This may or may not be. But we are determined to go on; and if it can be, faster and faster. There is nothing left behind worth regretting; and nothing yet gained to content us, or worth waiting for. Let us go on, on:—we are in a hurry to be happy,—we are in a hurry to be rich,—we are in a hurry to be great and noble:—we cannot be worse, or poorer, or more miserable than we are,—nothing is present, everything is before us,—man

is capable of perfection, and *shall be* perfect, and in our own way too :—let us go on, on,—the present is intolerable, the future may be better and is before us,—let us go on headlong,—even if it be to intense misery, and desperation, and temporal and eternal ruin.

High-minded (τετυφωμενοι : inflati, stulti, cæci).—This is either a most wise or a most foolish age. This is certain, we have a high opinion of ourselves ; whether this opinion be justified, or wisdom be stultified in it. We have discovered that this is only the infancy of the world ; that is, that all former ages were children :—and *we* are going to carry it on to the strength of manhood. Christianity is but one step ; and *we* are going to take the next step, by putting our foot upon it. We must believe all this to be true,—because we say it of ourselves ; and we must be wise enough to judge,—because we have all the wisdom of our ancestors ! At any rate, we should do wrong not to call ourselves great ; for we are growing fast and faster,—whether it be upwards towards heaven or the reverse ; and we are truly swelled up in bulk to a very enormous size,—whether we be filled with dignity or conceit,—with substance or vapour.

Lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God.—God tells us in his word to mortify our affections, but men say now that luxury is a virtue ; and so they diligently exercise it. The strict keeping of the sabbath, and all fasts and feasts, must interfere with business and commerce ;—therefore it must be wrong to encourage them. Besides, Sunday is the most convenient day for dinners,

when you may be sure of your company;—and it would be absurd to have our time so shortened and taken up, and our pleasures interrupted. We are a decidedly religious people, and Christianity is part and parcel of the law of the land;—but religion must by no means interfere with pleasure or business: these must be provided for first, as of necessity, and at all events,—religion must have what is left, and be contented; if that be nothing, this is a misfortune, but proper under the circumstances.

Having the form of godliness, but denying the power thereof.—We put the Bible into our own and into every body's hands; and talk of it, and dispute about it, and swear by it;—but its spirit, and its truth, and its strict precept, we will in no wise obey or follow; but explain it all away, and outreason it, and distaste it.

Of this sort are they which creep into houses, and lead captive silly women, laden with sins, led away with divers lusts (ἐπιθυμίας).—Women take a leading part in the new philosophy, and in the doctrines and proceedings of the new sects,—which continually arise out of the familiar handling of the Bible, and the concurrent want of reverence for its contents, and ardent use of it.* They are led away more than others by conceit and vanity, and the lust of novelty, excitement, and notoriety. Such being their impulses, no wonder at the

* The French savans, and the German illuminati, made much use of the women, in propagating the doctrines which led to the French Revolution.

multiplicity of creeds; no wonder they revive extinct heresies, and exhausted topics of discussion and controversy, over and over again; no wonder they and we are

Ever learning, but never coming to a knowledge of the truth.

Now as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, these also resist the truth: men of corrupt minds (κατεφθαρμένοι τον νοον—out of their senses), reprobate (ἀδόκιμοι, perversi, inepti, judicii expertes) concerning the truth.—Men's minds are distracted and distorted by their science and learning: their *wisdom and their knowledge it hath perverted them*; their attention and opinions are hurried backwards and forwards, and carried away by every wind of doctrine, and every new theory and every new study and discovery and invention,—till there is nothing settled, nothing is solid, certain, or respected, but all is doubt, and change, and the mystery of uncertainty, according as St. Peter and St. Jude predicted it, "*These are wells without water, clouds that are carried away with a tempest, to whom the mist of darkness is reserved for ever.*" *

As St. Paul in his first epistle to Timothy seems to glance particularly at the Roman Catholic errors, and in the second epistle at the characters of the passing age, so St. Peter and St. Jude appear to carry the description on to the final consummation of those forms of evil, which are now rapidly progressing towards their

* I reserve the subject of the darkness of the coming age, to a future Essay.

perfect growth and development. The description at present needs but to be read, and the application even now will be only too plain, after the illustrations of St. Paul's epistle to Timothy which have been given. But it is evident that it is capable in many respects of a still closer application.

* "There shall be false teachers, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them ;

(*Jude.*—"Ungodly men, turning the grace of God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ.)

"Many shall follow their own pernicious ways ; by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of :—

"Through covetousness, shall they with feigned words make merchandize of you :—

"Chiefly them that walk after the flesh in the lust of uncleanness, and despise government. Presumptuous are they, self-willed, they are not afraid to speak evil of dignities :—

(*Jude.*—"Likewise also these filthy dreamers defile the flesh, despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities :)—

"Speak evil of things that they understand not ; and shall utterly perish in their own corruption :—

(*Jude.*—"These speak evil of those things which they know not) :—

"Sporting themselves in their own deceivings :—

"Having eyes full of adultery, and that cannot cease from sin :—

“ Beguiling unstable souls :—

“ An heart they have exercised with covetous practices ; cursed children ; which have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam the son of Bosor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness :—

(*Jude.*—“ Woe unto them ! for they have gone in the way of Cain, and ran greedily after the error of Balaam for reward ;—

“ And perished in the gainsaying of Core) :—

“ The dumb ass—forbad the madness of the prophet :—

“ These are wells without water ; clouds that are carried away with tempest ; to whom the mist of darkness is reserved for ever :—

(*Jude.*—“ Clouds are they without water ; carried about of winds ; trees whose fruit withereth ; without fruit ; twice dead ; plucked up by the roots :—

“ Raging waves of the sea :—wandering stars : to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever) :—

“ Speak great swelling words of vanity :—

“ Allure through the lusts of the flesh, through much wantonness, those who were clean escaped from them who live in error :—

“ While they promise them liberty, they themselves are the servants of corruption :—

“ It had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than after they have known it to turn from the holy commandment delivered unto them. But it is prophesied to them according to the true pro-

verb, 'The dog is turned to his own vomit again, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire.'

(*Jude*.—"Behold the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him.

"These are murmurers, complainers, walking after their own lusts; and their mouth speaketh great swelling words: having men's persons in admiration because of advantage.

"They told you there should be mockers in the last time, who would walk after their own ungodly lusts:

"These be they who separate themselves; sensual; not having the spirit.")

I will conclude this sketch and recapitulation of the signs of the coming of the last times of national degeneracy and apostacy, by quoting Mr. Bickersteth's apprehensions and warnings upon the same subject in his *Treatise on Baptism*.

"I cannot conclude this subject without adverting to a deeply interesting and affecting consideration—the danger of national apostacy in our country. The general tendency of public measures, for a considerable period, has been to throw open the government of the country to persons not holding the great and essential doctrines of the Gospel. At the settlement of our English constitution in 1688, Papists and persons denying the doctrine of the blessed Trinity were expressly excepted from favour. The pure form of

Christianity maintained by our Church was generally viewed as most accordant with the word of God, and therefore most calculated to promote social happiness ; and thus the Church of England, which holds all the great truths of the Gospel of Christ, was sanctioned, established, and everywhere through the land nationally maintained. Dissenters from conscientious scruples, but holding the main truths of the Gospel, were not merely tolerated but encouraged in all the good they sought to effect, as a really valuable auxiliary to a Church establishment.—Luke, ix. 49, 50. Papists, and idolaters, and Socinians, as not holding the head, and Jews as rejecting Christ, were discouraged. Thus our constitution was truly scriptural. God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, were nationally acknowledged and honoured. His blessing has been marked in our national elevation, peace, preservation and prosperity.

“ But our national profession of these things has become, in the lapse of time, exceedingly formal. Step after step has been taken to weaken it. The Protestant character of our government has been cast off, by Socinians and Papists having been admitted to share in that power which Christ has entrusted to us (Matt. xxviii. 18 ; John, xix. 11), as a Protestant nation, for his kingdom and glory. Step after step is taken in marriages, in baptism, in education, to dis sever the Church of England from the nation. Attempts have been made to admit the Jews into our government, and so wholly throw off its Christian character. Step after step is taken in the maintenance of Papal priests and Papal schools, at home and in our colonies, to break down our national testimony to God’s truth as set forth in our national religious testimonies.

“ This, however, is but one part, though a very awakening symptom indeed of our tendencies to apostacy. The whole character of our population, in its prevailing features, is of

this cast. The measures of parliament, constituted as parliament now is, are national measures. The sin is the sin of the country. And what is it prominently marks the character of the country, against all the struggles of the Church of Christ in the midst of it, but an intense money-getting spirit ; regardless of all the sufferings of others, if property may be enlarged ; and a consequent fearful oppression by the wealthy, of the lower orders ; and a re-acting hatred of the upper classes in the lower ? This is eminently seen, as the author has observed on another occasion, in the state of the agricultural poor and the factory children. Let us remember how full the Scripture is of strong testimonies against oppression, and grinding the faces of the poor ; what stern reproofs are given against oppressors, especially where professing religion, and how constantly the ruin of countries is ascribed to this cause, and we may indeed have just fears that heavy judgments hang over our country. An unholy thirst for gain, without reference to God's will and glory, or the good of man, shoots very deep into the heart of our land, and spreads very wide over it. The greater part of the misery that now oppresses our country is from making haste to be rich, and this connected with widely spread and largely received false and infidel political principles of the wealth of nations being their prosperity, without reference to moral character. Hence men eagerly pursue the accumulation of property, whatever distress or ruin it may bring on others, justifying themselves by that which should be their guard, the general practice. Exod. xxiii. 2 ; Matt. vii. 13. But instead of attaining security and happiness by this selfishness they are labouring utterly in vain. Hab. ii. 13. The word of God speaks repeatedly and most strongly against this really self-destructive course, and shows the great *personal* danger of pursuing riches to the oppression of the poor. Prov. xxix. 20, 21 ; Isaiah, v. 8—10 ; Jer. vi. 23 ; viii. 9, 10 ; xxii. 13

—17; Micah, ii. 1—3; Hab. ii. 9—11; and James, v. 1—4. May the eyes even of those making a credible profession of godliness, be opened to see, and their resolutions strengthened to renounce, this great evil. Whatever present losses their singularity may occasion them, their real gain will be unspeakably great. The vanity and emptiness of all excuses founded on the misconduct of the poor, for neglecting their real misery, will be apparent to a Christian.

“The real character of this idolatry of wealth is an apostacy. When we have ceased to trust in the Lord, we trust in idols (1 Tim. vi. 17): when we have ceased to delight in the Lord, we delight in idols. Nothing is more clear than that covetousness is idolatry (Ephes. v. 6; Col. iii. 5): nothing is more clear than that idolatry is apostacy (Deut. vii. 4; xiii. 1—10), and that apostacy of a nation is connected with national judgments. 2 Kings, xvii.; 2 Chron. 36.*

“Many other signs of a growth of apostacy might be mentioned which are set before us in the Scriptures (2 Peter, ii. 10—22, and Jude, x. 16) and too apparent in Christendom.”

* The great exertions of so many professors of religion, chiefly among Dissenters, to set aside all national establishments of religion, which they openly avow is, in their view, the root of all evil in the Church of Christ; and the vast strength of the current of Papal and infidel men who join in this stream, and their influence upon those in power at this day, is another fearful indication of approach to national apostacy. The heavenly host rejoiced (Rev. xii. 10, 11) in that national triumph of Christianity which such mistaken men would, in their self-wisdom and ignorance of God's word, overthrow. Let not any be deceived by piety of expressions and intermingling of prayers and praises, or peaceful professions or pretences of conscience; as we nationally honour God and maintain his truth, he will nationally honour us. Let us remember the sure word of prophecy, and how we are guarded against the Korah spirit of this age (Numbers, xvi.; Jude, xi.), and may we before it be too late, like Nebuchadnezzar, be brought to give the glory of our kingdom to God. Dan. iv. 34—37.

ESSAY X.

FALSE PRINCIPLES OF PHILOSOPHY.—LIBERTY.

LIBERTY THE RULING PRINCIPLE—IN MORALS—THE SELFISH SYSTEM OF MORALS—LIBERTY IN EDUCATION—BOOKS TEACH BETTER THAN MEN—LIBERTY IN SIN—DEMOCRACY—MODERN LIBERTY MEANS POWER—AMBITION A VIRTUE—LIBERTY IS LICENTIOUSNESS—MONEY-MAKING A VIRTUE—LUXURY A VIRTUE—VANITY A VIRTUE—LIBERTY IN RELIGION—CHRISTIANITY A STEP—NO MAN ANSWERABLE FOR HIS CREED—IMPUNITY OF CRIME—WHAT REAL LIBERTY IS.

THE principles and opinions which prevail in all subjects at any one time in a country, are so much the same in character, and so interwoven one with another, that it is difficult to disentangle any one or more from the rest, and to exhibit them separately. It is still more difficult to discover the error and disprove the wisdom of any policy or opinion; because the bent of the public mind is uniform, and a habit, and the premises as well as the conclusions, have the same foundation and the same character, and are the result of inclination, and bias, and taste, which are supreme in argument.

The one ruling principle exhibits itself in different shapes; appearing to the familiar eye distinct in spe-

cies and genus, according to the difference of the subjects in which it operates. It is easier to expose and assail the leading principle itself, than to analyze and invade any one or more of the various forms and appearances which it assumes, each of which is a support and a defence of all the others.

Political licence is essentially one in principle with religious dissent ; and this with the passion for invention and change ; with rationalism in religion, and pantheism. The selfish system of morals, the present principles of political economy, the worship of wealth, the praise of luxury, the oppression of the poor, the passion for commercial enterprise, and mechanical invention, infidelity and revolution, rebellion against God and man, have one and the same origin, are one and the same thing :—and that one thing is Liberty. Liberty is the cant word, and charm, and token, among all orders and classes ; and unites all peoples and languages together in one crusade of division and separation. Liberty has power to take peace from heaven and earth. Liberty is the watch-cry of domestic feud, of civil war, of foreign invasion and aggression,—of hatred, rebellion, ambition, aggrandizement, robbery and tyranny. Liberty is both the lock and the key to all argument and proof. Since liberty is the one essential ingredient in all the developments of modern policy, and liberty is the one point and premise conceded,—the beginning and the end of philosophy and politics, the Alpha and Omega, the datum and quæsitum,—every argument is always in a circle, only arriving at

the same point ; and no wonder it is easy,—and no wonder every step is dogmatism itself, and incontrovertible.

Let us endeavour nevertheless to test some one or a few of these dogmas by a denial at least ; and to bring them to a comparison with some independent system, or other fixed point :—though to find out a region free from the disturbing influence of this our centre of force, we must almost stretch our observation beyond the reach of parallax.

In the department of ethics, “ the selfish system of morals ” is that which is predominant and characteristic of the philosophy of the age. The apparent consequences and tendency of things, that is, their usefulness and expediency, constitute them right, according to this system. This is identical in its principle with Epicureanism. And like Epicureanism it is, and is found to be, inconsistent with the obedient worship of God. It constitutes man the legislator and judge of his own rule of action ; and rejects and deposes God as the judge of right and wrong, the divider of good and evil, of light and darkness. This cannot long consist with a belief in God’s word. And accordingly the Epicureans rejected God from all interference with sublunary concerns ; and with a real pride, but affected humility, and rendering a philosophic honour, but actual insult, founded in the weakness of men, above which they professed to raise Him,—attributing pride and idleness to the Almighty,—deposed Him from his omnipotence and omniscience. And “ the selfish system of morals ” is effectually undermining the belief in revelation.

It must undermine truth and morals themselves. For although some few philosophers of higher intellect, and greater strength of mind, may look to a distant end, and, guiding themselves by some fixed star, may stretch across the ocean in a straight course, not feeling their way along the shore, or accommodating themselves to every bend and winding, or shaping their voyage by the ever changing bearings of the nearest and most trifling objects and interests, as did some of the leading Epicureans,—yet the multitude of the small craft, whose appointment and science are not so costly and perfect, must steer by the nearest land-marks, and must ply by the oar; and must be governed in all their course and determinations, by present views and impulses. For the whole foundation is the right of private judgment; and if we may think for ourselves independently of God, more surely may we of men; and if we are set free from God as our judge, then philosophers ought not to be our masters. So every one must have an equal right to judge himself: however fresh his freedom, or short his study, or shallow his intellect. Freedom is the first and best acknowledged of the rights of man: it perfects all things and is perfect. Therefore all things must yield to it. It is the beginning and end of all action and argument; therefore all things are conclusive and consistent. Laws and governments may be resolved into present and particular convenience, rules of action into impulses, society into individuals, the earth into atoms, the universe into its elements,—but this one rule of right shall stand certain and fixed, and ultimate and

elemental—the right of private judgment in morals and religion,—liberty, free-thinking.

M. Guizot, the great social philosopher, the champion of human reason, has at length fairly described what philosophy is.—“I now call philosophy,” says M. Guizot, “every opinion which admits not, under any name or form, a faith obligatory to human thought; and in religious as well as other matters, leaves it free to believe or not to believe, and to direct itself by its own labour.” So now the prerogative and pretensions of reason being acknowledged, our task becomes more straightforward and easy. If we have no obligatory faith in revelation, we must be left to our own private judgment and will; for to reject the wisdom of God and to obey man, would be a very blind credulity. Our own wisdom therefore, our individual wisdom and strength of mind, the wisdom of each child in age or in knowledge, must be our guide, and our will, in all subjects which imply conduct and action. Such are all branches of morality and religion: the subject of both which is self-government, and our own actions. But it is a first principle in justice and government, that no man shall be a judge in his own cause. How then can a man pass a just judgment and sentence upon himself, when he is free to make and change the law for himself according to his will, in his own case, and for his own use, and upon the present occasion! This is perfect liberty and democracy in morals; and it is as practicable as the existence of pure and permanent democracy in a state, together with high civilization and irreligion. When children will

pull out their own teeth, just to produce regularity and symmetry in their mouths; when criminals will not only adjudge themselves to the stake, but also light the faggots, and endure the fire without complaint; when Ulysses shall pass by the shores of the Syrens unconfined, except by his own choice and will and self-possession,—and we are all like such an Ulysses, then may we enjoy a pure democracy in morals as in government, and not turn every man his hand first against his brother, and then to self-destruction.

When such a time should arrive; when we should be such masters of ourselves, and such wise and just masters, that we should all do that which was right and good, as well for our neighbour as ourselves, according to the code of Christian precept,—we should not be fitter then for a democracy, than for a monarchy or aristocracy; but for no government. When every one might do that which was right in his own eyes, because every one's eye was single, and looked only to that which was right,—then we should want neither king, nor democracy, nor earthly government over us,—the Lord our God would be our King.

Out of a silly confusion of self-sacrifice with selfishness,—the laying down our life for a friend with self-interest and gratification,—and a shallow argument, that because virtuous and upright conduct produces happiness, therefore the pursuit of happiness must lead to virtue and rectitude,—men have re-edified and revived the image of the dead and deadly heathen doctrine of “the selfish system of morals.” They have not discovered that “right” pursued from duty and obe-

dience, is different from “right” pursued from desire and choice:—that it is different in effect, as well as in principle. And all this is sanctioned and sanctified under the name of liberty:—as if liberty were made for man, and man for liberty; and that this were a truth and a treasure hid and laid up for ages, for this age, for modern invention and discovery. “Man was not made for liberty, and can no more live in it than fishes in the air, or birds in the water.” The utmost that can be done, and this religion does for him, is that “it takes him from one evil servitude, and places him in another which is good.”* Without this servitude or another, he can never pursue or devise for himself a course of virtue, or secure his happiness by seeking after it. Liberty must lead him on to rebellion against God, against man, against the feeble laws which he himself has imposed, to rebellion against himself. Liberty is Self triumphant against morals.—Liberty is sin.

Christian ethics directs us in the proper use of our desires: as love of honour,† power,‡ knowledge,§ love of rest and peace; hope, fear, love, joy,|| admiration, fellowship; and guides them to the proper objects. It does not profess to teach us to act without motives. The selfish system of morals can only mean, that we act by passions and affections. This is no discovery.—It is only a confusion. Self-interest or self-love cannot be the rule; for it is the thing itself which is to be corrected.

* Sewell's Christian Morals, p. 178.

† Matt. xxvi. 13; Lu. xiv. 10; Gal. vi. 14; John, xvii. 22.

‡ Matt. xvi. 19; Lu. xii. 42; Lu. xxii. 30; x. 20.

§ Lu. x. 22, 23; viii. 10.

|| Lu. x. 17, 20; John, xv. 11.

It is not to be destroyed, but improved; to be corrected, not to reign paramount. To say that we are to act right from desires and motives, is no discovery;—to say that all motives are equal in merit, is confusion;—to say that a man can exercise self-denial and self-interest at the same time, is shallow philosophy:—to say that we are to purify and perfect our desires, and sacrifice our present to our eternal interests, till it becomes a pleasure and a present impulse to do so, is Christianity.

One axiom of these last times is, that books are better than men; that wisdom is better learned in the closet among tables and indexes, than in the world and its occupations, in the business of life and its realities, and among men. They do not yet perceive, that the letter is dead; and that it is action and experience which alone gives life to any truth, which is worth the name of truth, that is, to the subjects of conduct and action. It requires experience, and exercise in the particular subject, to enable a reader to comprehend the meaning and appreciate the reasoning of his author; and a writer cannot carry a reader far out of his depth, or lead him into deep water with safety, till he has learned to swim. As face answereth to face, and the heart of man to man, and we interpret motives and reasonings in others by the index and standard and the workings of our own minds, so we colour our author with the complexion of our own opinions, and sound him with the depth of our own understandings; and so reach and reject, and alter and choose, and use him so far and in such manner as we like, according to our preconceived intention or ability.

Yet all are thought equally capable, and are held

equally bound to read, and read every thing ; whether they be wise or fools, learned or unlearned, good or bad, young or old, prejudiced or unprejudiced. The judgment of the young is thus made equal with the judgment of the aged ; of the child with that of the parent. The hearts of the children are not turned to their fathers for direction and advice, nor the eyes of the flock to their shepherds and pastors ; but every sheep wanders where he will, in the mountain or in the plain, in the field or the wilderness ; but all are out of the fold ; and each chooses what pastures he will, and tramples down and wastes what he rejects ; and no two liking the same food and place, the flock is all scattered and divided here and there, and the pasture is spoiled. And all this is wise and right and proved, and incapable of question, because of liberty.

The child has no need of the man ; that were to acknowledge slavery. The youth with his book ought to be as independent as the yeoman on his estate. He may plough what he pleases, and fallow what he pleases. He may crop which field he will, and with what seed he will ; and gather the whole crop or a part only, when and how he will ; bring it home into his store in bundles and sheaves, and parcel it here and there, or feed it off upon the land, or leave it to rot, or plough it in again. Language is feeble, and capable of many senses ; but the sense must not be enlarged, or the mind directed, or a higher truth elicited ; especially in subjects of the greatest consequences, and the most important interests. In learning from books alone, the choice is not directed, the taste is not cultivated and formed, attention is not

aroused, application is not enforced, mistake and misapprehension are uncorrected, dulness is unassisted, indolence and carelessness are unchastised; bias, passion, pleasure, appetite, prejudice, error, distortion, pride, conceit, wilful blindness, run riot uncontrolled, unhindered, and unnoticed, and feeding upon food of their own choice, and assimilating every thing to their own nature, they continually enlarge themselves on one side, and grow confirmed and stronger.*

It is said, we must not interfere to guide any young man's opinions; in order that he may be free to choose for himself, when his understanding is ripened. It is even a popular system, to observe the natural characters of children, so as to educate them in that line, and to develope that particular power and propensity, to which they have a tendency; instead of bringing up the faculties in which each is deficient to the proper level, by a more diligent cultivation.

What a child is born then, he must grow, according to this system. The bias of birth, the prejudices and propensities of youthful passion and circumstance, must confirm themselves, if man is to be thus free of man, childhood of age, folly of wisdom. The Christian verity reveals to us, that a child is born in sin.—Liberty is sin.

The passion for freedom extends itself to all law, divine as well as human. The same spirit of liberty and independence which disposes us to resist and throw off the control of man over man, disposes us also to resist and rebel against the laws and government of God, and to wrestle with and burst the bands of reli-

* See Sewell's Christian Morals, p. 2.

gious obligation; which alone can fit us to use the trust of civil liberty. For the mind of man is a habit; and his whole character must be one; and the habit of love of independence, the desire and spirit of liberty in the breast, must become a propensity, a passion:—What passion?—let the moralists and phrenologists name it:—what passion?—the passion of selfishness and pride:—a proper pride of course! because it is the fashion and idol of the day, and the spirit of liberty.

But the use of liberty is equal laws, and equal powers of doing our duty and doing good, and equal scope to exercise ourselves in virtue and love, and self-discipline,—that is, to enjoy happiness. And such a liberty may exist under a monarchy, and flourish under a “paternal government;” * and it is not excluded from a democracy:—because the benignant sense of true religion—self-denying and practical—must mould a monarch into a father, and fellow-citizens into brethren; but when religion is absent, and the moral sense is selfish and the mind perverted, a jury may be the instrument of the greatest frauds and injustice, a posse comitatus an engine of the greatest tyranny and misery. No matter whether the supreme power have one head or many, the love of self will make such power a monster; and we never heard that the hydra, because it had fifty heads, was the more easy to overcome, or the less disposed to, or less capable of, mischief.†

* “We hate paternal governments.”—*Edinb. Rev.*

† Montesquieu said of Poland, “The independence of individuals is the end aimed at in the laws of Poland; from thence results the oppression of the whole.”—*Spirit of Laws*, bk. xi. ch. 5.

Modern liberty is the lust of power.—Under the name of consti-

It is supposed however that a monarch is more hurried to excess by the lust of power, and that power is less

tutional liberty, the Queen's government in Spain violently put an end to the Fueros, or free privileges of the Basques and Navarrese.

The French constituent Assembly extinguished all the local privileges of the provinces.

The late liberal government has made a similar endeavour to narrow the principle of local management in England as much as possible.

Montesquieu has observed, "As in democracies the people seem to act almost as they please, this sort of government has been deemed most free; and the power of the people has been confounded with their liberty."—*Spirit of Laws*, bk. xi. ch. 2.

When "La Fayette attacked the mob, and seized the ruffian who carried the head (of François), who was executed the next day,—the indignant populace murmured at the severity. 'What!' they exclaimed, 'is this our liberty? We can no longer hang whom we please.'"—*Alison, French Rev.*, i. 274.

On the 9th Thermidor (27th July, 1794), this principle was practically reduced to its natural absurdity, when the two parties contending for each other's blood, both rallied their friends in the name of liberty. Robespierre said to the Jacobins about him, "March! you may yet save liberty." Tallien, the opponent leader, addressed the Mountain, "Take your place," said he, looking around him, "I have come to witness the triumph of freedom: this evening Robespierre is no more."—*Alison, French Rev.*, ii. 383, 384.

Fleury calls the accession of the Church to authority, and the power to punish heretics, "The Liberty of the Church."—*Mœurs des Chrétiens*, ch. 48.

Liberty is tyrannical and cruel in proportion to its extension to the people.—Mr. Alison observes, "It is in the name of humanity that thousands are massacred; and under the banner of freedom that the most grievous despotism is established."—*Alison, French Rev.*, Pref. 36.

"Liberty and equality was the universal cry of the revolutionary party. Their liberty consisted in the general spoliation of the opulent classes, their equality in the destruction of all who outshone them in talent, or exceeded them in acquirement."—*Ibid.* p. 55.

"From the first commencement of the contest, each successive class that had gained the ascendancy in France, had been more violent and

subject to abuse and passion in the hands of a multitude. The multitude also may be moved to virtue, while the more tyrannical than that which preceded it.”—*Alison, French Rev.*, p. 426.

“The Jacobins—the greatest levellers in theory, they became the most absolute tyrants in practice.”—*Ibid.* p. 464.

“Marat, the friend of the people, asserted in the Jacobin club, Dec. 19, 1793, ‘that in order to cement liberty, the national club ought to strike off 200,000 heads.’”—*Kett on Prophecy*, ii. 214.

And Smyth, in his lectures, says, “Wherever the French armies went, Liberty and Equality were proclaimed, and ‘Vive la Republique’ was the cry. The meaning of these terms was seen to be, sweeping confiscations of property, the abolition of all existing authorities, and the elevation of the populace.”—*Smyth’s Lect.*, 2nd series, *French Rev.*, vol. iii. p. 254.

The recent exposures of American principles and manners, are fresh in recollection.

“You talked of nothing but liberty; but every one of your actions strove to enslave us. Can you deny it? All your words were orders, all your counsels were the mandates of a despot. We were never thus commanded when, according to your false assertion, we were slaves; such blind implicit obedience was never demanded from us, as is now exercised, when, by your assertion, we are free.—In other words, they forced upon us the liberty of suffering ourselves to be stripped of all rational freedom.—Open thine eyes, great nation, and deliver us from this *Liberty of Hell*.”—*Lavuter’s Lett. to the Executive Directory*, dated the first year of Helvetic Slavery; Zurich, May 10th, 1798. Quoted, *Kett on Prophecy*, ii. 222, n.

As scepticism is timid and credulous, so *Excess of liberty* must needs be *mean and servile*. The horse without a rider cannot win the race. Republicans are the greatest slaves to public opinion; and follow one another with the tamest imitation, in the present single track, like sheep without a shepherd. Those who throw off government, or rebel against it, give implicit obedience, as the trades-unions, and the ribbon-men, with slavish fear, and the blindest submission.

“The members of the Freemasonry lodges in France, which held the most absolute Atheism, and the most perfect hatred of every species of government, were bound by the fear of inevitable punishment,

monarch may be a monster of wickedness or folly, a wolf among the sheep, wholly unassimilated to them in

and an enthusiastic attachment to the cause, to inviolable secrecy, and unlimited obedience to the commands of the superiors, though who these superiors were, the generality of these fanatics knew not."—*Kett on Prophecy*, ii. 165, 166.

"One of the chiefs told the professors" (of the order of German Illuminati) "that death, inevitable death, from which no potentate could protect them, awaited every traitor to the order."—*Ibid.* ii. 197.

There is less equality in free countries than in absolute monarchies.

The comparative condition of the slaves in ancient Greece and Rome, in modern America, and the West Indies, and in Poland, as compared with the slaves in the French and Spanish colonies, under absolute governments, furnishes a conclusion entirely unfavourable to the freest countries.

The free licence given to trade and money-making and the increase of wealth, has given a power and will to oppress the common people in England, which exceeds any tyranny and cruelty that the world has ever been witness of.

"The numberless circumstances which prove that there is on the whole more unison of feeling, more sympathy, more mutual dependence and support between the different ranks of industry, between the employers and the employed, in France, than with us." "It is to this cause we conceive, in a great degree, that the combinations among workmen to enforce an increase of wages, which have at different times been carried to such a fearful extent in England, are to be attributed, which in France are, comparatively speaking, unknown."—*Paris—its Dangerous Classes*, *Quar. Rev.*, No. 139, p. 33.

Alison describes the ridiculous exclusive jealousy, in America, between a milliner and a haberdasher.—*Alison on Pop.*, i. 554, n.

He observes also, that it is as unsafe to exhibit the external appearances of wealth in America as in China.—*Ibid.* ii. 72.

Liberty by itself, is a formidable and many-handed giant:—the love of money, is an evil-eyed and malicious spirit;—but the union of liberty with money-making, is the foulest and most frightful and cruelest and most ravening monster that ever raised its head out of the sea of wickedness and pride, and the abyss of human corruption.

their virtues and wisdom. The opposite to the first may easily be shown: namely, that power is more irrespon-

“The Hindoo laws recognize no less than fifteen legitimate modes of acquiring slaves. But these servants are in general well treated: the gentleness of the Hindoo character has softened the rigour of their laws. A stranger can seldom distinguish between the condition of the slave from any other member of the family. The cultivators are in a certain sense *astricti glebæ*, but the slavery is altogether unlike the odious servitude of the West India Islands; it more nearly resembles the kindly relation which naturally subsisted in Europe between the lord of the manor and the villains who cultivated his domains.”—*Alison on Pop.*, i. 360.

Of the slaves in Turkey, Lord Ponsonby lately wrote an official despatch to Lord Normanby, containing this description of them:—

“The admirals, the generals, the ministers of state, in great part, have been originally slaves. In most families, a slave enjoys the highest degree of confidence and influence with the head of the house.” “The slaves are generally protected against ill-treatment by custom, and the habits of the Turks, and by the interests of masters, and their religious duty; and perhaps slaves in Turkey are not to be considered worse off than men everywhere else who are placed by circumstances in a dependent situation; whilst on the other hand, they may attain, and constantly do enjoy, the highest dignities, the greatest power, and largest share of wealth of any persons in the empire.”—*Correspondence with Foreign Powers relative to the Slave Trade*. Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston; Therapis, Dec. 27, 1840.

“Liberty, in a certain sense, is the soul of the Japanese; but it is a liberty very different in its nature and in its effects from that which prevails in Europe. It is a liberty which consists in the despotic authority of the law, and the regularity with which it is administered. But this is the result not of freedom on the part of the people, but of wisdom and unfettered power on the part of the government. The laws are extremely severe, but they protect equally the rich and the poor.”—*Alison on Pop.*, i. 396, quoting Thunberg.

In antithesis to this, the penal code is growing more and more mild in democratic governments, and tending towards impunity; because the people have the voice.—And the consequence is, increase of violence

sible in the hands of a multitude ; and that vice requires support and countenance, without which it cannot easily bear the light, while virtue can stand alone, and shine the brighter for it. Therefore, when the mob conceive violence, and intend villany, there is no control or limit to their enormities ; whereas kings are continually the butt of observation and censure, and while they are still further controlled in their choice of advisers and counsellors and ministers, are themselves responsible for all acts that are done, in their own persons and character.*

Neither can the monarch easily be vicious and altogether bad, while his people are good and wise and religious. The character of the king and people must go together in great measure ; and the mutual impression has at all times been strong and powerful. "As the judge of the people is himself, so are his officers ; and what manner of man the ruler of the city is, such are all they that dwell therein."† The sins and punishments, the virtues and rewards of a people, are bound up with those of their sovereigns, by a bond which is indissoluble ;

and crime, and diminished protection and freedom of action to the good.

* When an emperor of China wished to place a favourite son upon the throne, in violation of the law of primogeniture, he was forced to yield to the general opinion, expressed by written remonstrances, from the officers and magistrates, who threatened to resign their offices. Nic. Trigautius de Regn. Chinæ, p. 116, ed. Lugd. Batav. Elziv. 1639.

† Ecclus. x. 2. Even the ambition of conquerors is the ambition of the people ; and Alexander and Napoleon did not covet the empire of the world, without the concurrence and support of their subjects, who shared the glory of it.

and this has been the history and evidence of all places and times, and nations and governments: though it has nowhere been so intimately understood and uniformly acted upon as in the Chinese empire.*

But we would not be content with happiness,—with happiness founded on virtue; or with a freedom, which would enable us to enjoy all the blessings of life in the lot and sphere in which God has placed us;—for let it be remembered, that if there be different ranks and stations, and different degrees and orders in a state, it is God who has placed us each in that one in which we were born, and not man: as much as *He* has given us different characters, and complexions, and talents, and placed us in this nation and climate instead of that, and made us, as He thought fit, a man, and not a woman. But no, our liberty is a passion. We must have the right to rise from rank to rank, and from station to station. The passion of liberty being indulged, the divine law too must be broken and reversed. Ambition must become a virtue. And the civil government must provide facilities for its exercise and gratification. It is proclaimed the bulwark of the national strength,—and that which is condemned in kings, after the experience of ages, their subjects being their judges, is entitled a virtue in those of a lower rank,—the people in this being the judges of themselves. If men are to aspire to

* The Emperor of China attributes national calamities to his own sins and failures in the good administration of his government; and fasts and mortifies himself, and makes atonement to Heaven, and orders general fasts accordingly.

rise up to every other rank, they may well aspire, as they do, to be kings also. Nay, as the laws and governments of man draw down with them those of God in a common ruin, so the aspirations of human ambition must teach men to emulate the thrones of heaven, and they must at length, or even now, aspire to rivalry with angels and gods, and exalt themselves above all that is called God and worshipped.*

If tyranny is intenser in the hands of the multitude, so it is inquirable whether the hindrances to merit are not as many and active, when the public are to be depended upon, as when a monarch is to be looked to, to distinguish and reward it. The caprice of public opinion may be as fickle, as false, and as erroneous, as that of a wayward sovereign or potentate:—at least it is constantly complained of as such. The approach of the worthy to its favour, too, is long and difficult, and almost wholly unassisted. Whereas the enlightened patron has it his interest and pleasure, and makes it his business, to look out for and use the best instruments that can be met with, to give them assistance and encouragement; and, with all his partialities, we have some good reason to doubt whether the choice of a free people be upon the whole more infallibly fixed upon the ablest, the purest, and the most disinterested instruments.

* On occasion of the failure of the United States Bank, in 1840, a resolution was passed by a meeting of the stockholders, to absolve the clerks of the bank from their oaths to keep the transactions of the bank secret.

But none of these comparisons can be freely and fairly made, because the passion for liberty is supreme, and constrains the senses ; it is the beginning and end of the argument, the axiom and theorem, the postulate and problem:—we are slaves to liberty. The truth is, that none of these accidents of life, these constructions of society, are supremely important. A man's place or position has little to do with his freedom or happiness, and the impediment of birth cannot easily prevent the highest talent and merit from becoming prominent; and for the struggles of moderate talent to attain to prominence by its own efforts, without assistance, there is no misery equal to it. The patriarchs of Scripture history were not prevented from attaining to objects much higher than their highest expectations, by the most adverse and humiliating circumstances, or by their entire absence of ambition and effort after distinction. Great merit will generally find its place and use, without the spur of vanity and ambition, and in spite of the most depressing weight of difficulty. The meek shall possess the earth. But this the world can not believe. Or in profane story, did Socrates's greatness or death depend upon his rank or position; or has Æsop a less enviable fame because he was born a slave and crooked; or was Raphael less great for the patronage and power of a despotic prelate; or our own Shakspeare, did he live and write under less advantages, because he was of humble origin and rank, and because play-writers were then so little esteemed, or so few titles dispensed, that he was never knighted? Institutions have less to do

with these things than is imagined. If parliaments and the people were to apply themselves to become virtuous and religious, the kings also would become better and more religious, or act as being so; and the people would rise to or remain each of them in their proper position, and be much more happy in it, in spite of obeying the Christian precept, and choosing the lowest place. But liberty has emancipated us from God's wisdom, and God's law. We have set up a wisdom for ourselves. Therefore our wills and passions have become our rule of action. Our appetites and desires are all enshrined and consecrated. Ambition, as one of the strongest, is made a virtue and a merit; is admired in private life, and must be provided for in the state.—Liberty is licentiousness.

Another licence which is given to appetite under this freedom from God's law, is in respect of money-making. Money-making is a virtue and merit in each private person; and it is a still greater virtue in the state. In Rome, valour was virtue; the same in the individual as in the commonwealth; for the character and principles of the two are always alike. In England, a man's riches show what "he is worth;" a man of wealth and worldly substance is "a good man;" he is "doing well," and is "thought well of." In the state, finance is the great principle of policy; that branch of the legislature governs the country which holds the purse. Money is the great engine of war, the great desideratum in peace; political economy therefore is the great science of good government, and best qualifies a minister to

direct immortal man, the image of God, the delight and wonder of angels and of the universe, to the great end of his existence, here, and in his passage to an hereafter;—and this science proclaims, that the great key to unlock this treasure, and to the attainment of this object, is to give the people free liberty, to leave trading people to themselves : to give avarice its head.—Avarice is a virtue.

Luxury also is a virtue.—“ There is no such thing as luxury !” Wolsey was accused of luxury, because he had clean rushes laid upon his floors every day. When coaches first came into use, it was said that they would weaken our warlike power ; that the breed of horses would go down ; and that men would grow effeminate. The sale of pins was restricted to two days in the week, in Elizabeth’s reign, to discourage this luxury. That which is a luxury one day is a necessary the next ; therefore it is mistaken to call anything luxury, or a culpable extravagance. There is no palace too grand, or gilding too profuse, or viands too dainty or many, or furniture too magnificent, or dress too costly or meretricious ;—nor can the amount and frequency of these things be too great,—nor the habit too enervating,—nor the use too indulgent. The employment of the poor depends upon our ease and idleness ; their sufficiency upon our profusion ; their comfort upon our indulgence ; their gain upon our lavishing as much as possible upon ourselves ; their health upon our surfeit.—Therefore sensuality is a virtue.*

* Mandeville was one of the first openly to avow this libertine doc-

It has not occurred to these wise heads, that according to their own theory, at least, it does not matter whether our money is spent upon articles of enjoyment or use, upon ourselves or upon others,—for that in the one way or the other the money is sure to find its way into the pockets of the poor, as the wages of labour. But liberty and licence has blinded us to every side but one of this and every other truth. Self has got free, and reigns tyrannically over us; and directs us how and where it will, according to the dictates of our passions and appetites. In short, liberty is selfishness and self in everything:—it is self in morals, self in private life, self in politics, self in religion and religious doctrine, it is self in everything. Liberty is the very spirit of the evil one;—and is come up like the frogs of Egypt over the whole land, upon the prince, the people, and the servants,—into the houses, into the beds, into trine of political philosophy, in his fable of the Bees. He thus wantonly deals with and sums up the arguments on this subject:—

“ The root of evil avarice,
That d—d ill-natured baneful vice,
Was slave to prodigality,
That noble sin; whilst luxury
Employed a million of the poor,
And odious pride a million more;
Envy itself, and vanity,
Were ministers of industry;
Their darling folly fickleness,
In dyet, furniture and dress,
That strange ridic'lous vice was made
The very wheel that turned the trade.”

He writes so sarcastically in support of vice, that one might almost think that he felt a virtuous disgust at it.

the ovens, and into the kneading troughs, and into the king's chambers.

Conceit is a virtue.—We ought to have a good opinion of ourselves. Modesty is mean and pusillanimous. Humility is contemptible. The dignity and capacity of man,—the vast progress he is making,—his rapid advance towards perfection,—his perfectibility,—his free will and power over himself,—these are the favourite and popular topics; and any one who doubts them is indicted of treason against the rights of man, and the majesty of human nature. We must not be so mean as to say, there is anything beyond our capacity; that there is anything so deep that it must be to us unfathomable; that there is anything so high which we cannot understand; that there is any research vain, or any knowledge useless to us, or likely to lead us astray, or of more cost to acquire than benefit to us. Even religion is within the province of enlightened reason; the mysteries of religious truth are open to us. We *must*, in this advanced age of the world, understand more of it than any one else; we only assert the rights of age, and the maturity of reason;—we, we are wise, we are the men, we are wisdom.

It is said, therefore, of necessary consequence, that Christianity is but a step:—that it is a doctrine accommodated to a less enlightened age of the world;—and as religions are always accommodated to the state and minds of the people to whom they are given, so a much more perfect system is in store for us, in this wise and

liberal generation: a universal equality and benevolence, which is even now developing itself.

It is too true that our Christianity is but a step. We do not understand and practise Christianity; and therefore we deem lightly of it. We have not a practical understanding and experience of it. Therefore we tread it under foot; and would make it a step and a ladder; a stage to plant our higher and newer structure upon, "whose top to heaven," which we are essaying to build for ourselves, and to our own glory.

The step which we really want to take is a step backwards: that we should try by practice what Christianity is, and always has been, in its best experience. Then we might look forward again, and hope to make a fresh step in advance,—not to a new revelation, but to a better understanding and realization of Christianity such as it stands revealed.

The last claim of liberty is set up—no man is answerable for his creed. To man, they will say;—but it is to God also; for the same circumstances and impressions, which warrant all beliefs and opinions, and arrogate their exemption from human tribunals, must also be a justification before God; for they are not of choice or intention;—and the rights of reason must, in the full exercise of her power, extinguish human responsibility and probation, and annihilate them. We ought not even to teach a creed to our own child; this were an encroachment upon his freedom. We may choose all other branches of education for our son; we may choose his companions; we may dispose him to a particular

business or profession ; we may give him an impression and advice in behaviour, in friendships, in business, in principles, in politics,—but we must not bias or influence him in his religious belief: this were tyranny. This is between himself and his God. He is as good to judge as we are : as his parents, or as the government. The government may superintend education ; it may establish rules for the public peace ; may promote that trade which is most for the welfare of the country ; may punish crimes against the prosperity and happiness of the community ; may restrain men in their pecuniary follies,—but not a preference or encouragement is to be given upon the subject of religious doctrine or form, by any government, lay or clerical,—though religion has always, in all countries, been found the best engine of government, and the great support of the state ; and though religious opinions have ever proved themselves to be essentially connected and correspondent with political persuasions ; and though certain denominations have constantly been found uniting themselves in movements of disaffection, and resistance to government.

They who endeavour to separate belief and conduct in religion and politics, in things divine from things human, endeavour to separate the concave from the convex of the circle.

If men are not responsible for their opinions in things heavenly, neither are they in things human and earthly. If men are not answerable for their opinions, neither are they for their conduct :—for conduct is founded upon will ; and will upon opinion and

belief. And accordingly such a tendency of philosophy must ultimately lead to impunity of crime. And so it has been. The tendency of modern political philosophy is rapidly towards impunity; and it must ultimately lead to a denial of punishment and all punishable criminality, except that the system must work destruction to society before it can arrive at such a height. Nevertheless in political offences this principle stands confessed. The circumstances and temptations of traitors come nearer home to us, and are more easily reckoned, among a nation of political partisans; therefore we already pronounce them not greatly responsible. The system is extending itself to private crimes; as our understanding of human nature becomes deeper, and our philosophy more perfect.* The thief thinks he has the same right as the traitor to pursue his inclinations; and claims the same benefit. Philosophy tells him he is right,—that it is all education and circumstance. If the judge had been born and bred in the cellar or the garret, he would have been the prisoner in the dock. The prisoner might have been the judge. It is oppression therefore to punish for circumstances which are beyond a man's control. I was born and bred a thief; and nature made me idle, and revengeful, and lustful, and gave me appetite, but did not give me industry; so I stole to satisfy it; she gave me ambition but no estate; so I ought to take my neighbour's:—this is my

* The first use of knowledge was to excuse and palliate sin:—"the woman that thou gavest me:"—"the serpent beguiled me." So now, impunity is the order of the day. The verdict is, guilty of murder, and parricide, and regicide, under extenuating circumstances.

opinion, and I have a right to my opinion ; and therefore I have a right to act upon it.*

To deny this were a restraint upon liberty and free-will. Liberty is for all. Liberty is for the people : for all the people. Liberty is for the philosopher, the sophist, the freethinker, the debauchee, the spendthrift, the demagogue, the bankrupt in fortune and character, the thief, the coiner of money, and of religions, and constitutions :—Power and liberty is for all : the people is king,†—sin and the devil reigns among us, and possesses us.

How ever came the fair name of freedom so blasted and defamed : her fair features so deformed : her chastity corrupted ? Liberty is noble, is heroic, is a vestal, is spiritual. When men have mastered their appetites and desires, they are free-born ; when they choose self-denial for our Lord's sake, then they are higher in rank than all distinctions ; when they are at ease under the yoke of religious duty—which is stricter than the strictest of all human laws,—and happy and blessed under the cruel strokes of misfortune,—which are

* According to our law a jury can only find "guilty," or "not guilty;" not "ignorant of the law," or "not ignorant." So according to the old constitution of England, a jury could not find, "over-tempted," or "not tempted."

Still our law is so humane, that though it does not give a principal importance to these circumstances of ignorance or temptation, yet, in the *amount* of sentence, the judge was never wholly regardless of them.

† It is shown that this is essentially an infidel principle, by the source from whence it springs. Volney advances the doctrine, that the powers, the ranks, and the riches that be, are ordered of the people.—*Ruins*, 79.

more sudden and capricious and frequent than the sentences of any tyrants,—then they are insensible to the weight of any human government, and are free of it :—they are free and happy and unoppressed and joyful under the greatest tyranny. One before me has said, and has shortly expressed what I have written, “I suspect that an insolent pride in British liberty in some measure inspires British licence of thought, and extravagance of opinion :—if so, vice and infidelity are as much our national distempers, as the scurvy or the spleen. Purely to prove themselves freemen some turn infidels. Heaven preserve thee, my friend, from the freedom, and wisdom, and happiness, now in vogue. He is most free who is bound by the laws ; he is most wise who owns himself weak ; he is most happy who abridges his pleasures ; and he is most magnanimous, O ye bold, intrepid, heaven-defying Britons ! who fears his God.”*

Democratic freedom from restraint is vulgar, is rude :—religion makes even the clown a gentleman, in mind, and in manners also. Democracy pulls down the high to a low equality :—religion raises every one to a higher level. Free-thinkers in religion shrink and tremble beneath the opinion and frown of their fellow-men :—religious obedience and strength makes even the feeble heroes ; the unlettered wise ; the timid courage-

* Young's Lett. 6, p. 116, ed. 1798. “An Asiatic cannot be made to understand our term ‘freeman.’ They usually understand by it a holy man,—one who has subdued his passions, and freed himself from the domination of vice.”—*Quar. Rev.*, No. 126, p. 385 ; Davis's China.

ous; the humble equals to the lofty and proud; the poor rich; the servant free; the mechanic noble.

How has the fair face of liberty become deformed; her fair fame blasted; her purity defiled; how has freedom become a slave; how is the daughter of heaven become a harlot!

ESSAY XI.

FALSE PRINCIPLES OF POLITICS—PARTY.

GOVERNMENT INDEPENDENT OF RELIGION — ALL SECULAR GOVERNMENTS MUST FAIL — ALL GOVERNMENTS GOOD — ASIATIC GOVERNMENTS — EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS — PARTY SPIRIT INHERENT IN THESE — MANUFACTURES AND AGRICULTURE — MACHINERY — SELF-ADJUSTING SYSTEM OF POLITICAL ECONOMY — GOVERNMENT THE UMPIRE — MACHINERY OVER MUCH ENCOURAGED — ITS RAPID EXTENSION AN EVIL — MACHINES OUGHT TO BE TAXED.

THE prominent points in modern politics are, The spirit of Reform and Improvement ; The spirit of Education ; The importance given to Political Economy, or the Science of Money-making,—and its peculiar doctrine, that self-interest is both the main-spring and proper regulator of it ; The encouragement of Manufactures, and Machinery ; The separation of Religion from Civil Government ; and the Sovereignty of the People. There is another principle which prevails in, and gives operation to all these other principles,—the spirit of Party, or Division.—This is as fully acknowledged, as operative also and characteristic, as any of the rest.

The subject of Education and Knowledge is so important as to require to be treated under a separate head. The Sovereignty of the People has already met with some notice ; and must present itself constantly in

connection with every other characteristic of our political state. The subject of our Commercial condition and principles will occupy the greater portion of our attention in the following Essays. The subjects which remain, and call for present observation, are Party Spirit, and the separation of Religion and Moral Character, as motives, from the springs of government.

It was left for experiment in a Christian country, to govern people without religion. All other nations of the world have been governed by the aid of religion; but the modern governments have corrupted this palladium of their peace, or suffered it to grow corrupt,—being indulged and over-assured by the possession of so inestimable a treasure;—and the keepers and users of it have been deposed successively from their high trust and privilege, and their dominion is taken away from them. But since Christianity has already a little leavened, and a little operated in the world, government has become a so much easier thing, that we are now about endeavouring to make experiment of governing independently of it:—not aware that our great support and strength is thence derived, and that we are mainly resting upon it. Wickedness must become more extreme in Christendom than elsewhere, because of the force of Christianity itself; the vital power of which will enable the body politic to bear a greater severity of disease without dissolution. Sin must grow stronger and stronger in its operations, and its efforts and language more audacious, with the very efforts and advances of religion, till at length it personally opposes and exalts itself against and above God himself,—

Christ Jesus, present, visible, incarnate,—in the person of Antichrist.

And then cometh the end: when Christ himself shall take the kingdom:—when religion shall rule; and be the only law and power and instrument of government. Then, and not till then, the government shall be at one with religion, and religion with the government, and the counsel of peace shall be between the king and the priest. Already the governments of the world seem to be preparing for this independent and sufficient reign of religion, when they are separating the religious authority and power off from themselves; while yet the country is resting for its chief support upon it. At the same time, and in consequence, the religious authorities and the hierarchy are asserting the prerogatives of their office; and preparing to exercise their high functions independent of, and unassisted by, the civil government.

In the meantime every form of secular government, upon secular and worldly principles, must be tried, and deposed for mal-administration. The monarchical form of government has been weighed, and found wanting.—The aristocratic form of government has been weighed, and is found wanting.—The democratic must also be weighed in its turn,—and this having been found wanting likewise, as also every other system and constitution founded upon and secured by worldly motives and counterpoises,—then the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and rule the world in peace and love, and according to true judgment.

Every form of human government has its use and

virtues; and its life is long or short according to the soundness of its principle. But the imperfection inherent in it works its ruin:—the evil principles of fallen human nature infect it with diseases;—it grows from infancy to youth, from youth to ripeness, from ripeness to old age;—the diseases gradually get more and more hold and power: till, with the decay of energy, the whole body tends to abuse and corruption, and becomes at length useless and disgusting. The monarchical form of government is the most durable.—The oligarchic is the next so.—The democratic never has endured for any long time together. The process of transition towards it may be gradual, and the work of time; but its essential element is changeableness; and its ultimate form can never be permanent. The greatest perfection of monarchical rule has been in China; where it is patriarchal; and is established and carried out in all its branches upon the principle of filial reverence and obedience:—which disposes by essential and necessary consequence to obedience to God, and the performance of brotherly duties to one another.* They enjoy the fulfilment of the promise to those who honour and obey parents, in the almost eternal duration of their empire.† The oligarchical and mixed governments of Europe are full of such essential principles of evil, that they each in turn become unbearable. The modern systems of government in Europe are founded in no principles of

* Almost the whole subject of their moral treatises is the obligation to the performance of “the relative (the social) duties,” as they call them.

† Sir Geo. Rose’s Scriptural Researches, 174—205.

duty or obedience, and depend upon no exercise of love and brotherly affection. All is claim and assertion of right, and struggle of might; and the only corrector of the vices of power thought to be applied, is the balance of some other power in opposition to it. Therefore the use of power is oppression and violence; the strongest arm for the time being is exercised in tyranny; and the operation of the whole system is only a balance and opposition of hatred and selfishness. The vices of such systems become so flagrant, that the people rebel against them, and throw them off successively; and then make experiment of others, for very despair: not because the new forms are better, or so good; but because they are new and hopeful at the time, and their vices are not at first developed; and because their miseries under the old ones are intolerable.

The principle of Asiatic government is reverence and obedience; the effect is, that they have permanence; the operation is, that they are peaceable and stationary. The principle of modern Europe is progress; the effect is, instability and short-lived duration; the operation is, want of union, opposition, and party.

The Eastern nations know, that governments are for use, and for the good of the people; and not for the purpose of being rebelled against, and made an enemy of. They are conscious that all governments are good, as compared with the reign of universal lawlessness, and the distraction of individual interest and opinion and choice, and universal self-government.* The op-

* Πολιτικοὶ οὐτὲς ἀπὸ προσταγμάτων κινεῖ ζῶσιν. Ἀλλῶς γὰρ ἢ κ οἶν τε τῆς πολλῆς ἐν τῇ κατὰ ταῦτο ποιεῖν ἡμεροσμενῶς ἀλλήλοις (ὅπερ ἦν τὸ πολιτευσθαι),

pression of the worst government is light, as compared with the malice and reverse of fortune, and the miseries of private life; and any the worst form of government will work its own improvement and adaptation, with love; and any the best will only aggravate its diseases and sores, with rancour and hatred. It is best therefore, for our country and for ourselves, to seek the moral improvement of the people, and the good success of their affairs; and this chiefly by the strict and exemplary performance of our own duties, and transaction of our own business, in our own private families and concerns, and among those immediately around us.

The founders of great empires have for the most part been superior to the rulers who have come after them; and the delicate and complicate machine of government is not often likely to be rendered more efficient and better regulated, by introducing a main-spring or ba-

και αλλως πως νεμειν εινον κοινον. "Those who live in society together, live according to some stated rule and law. For otherwise it were impossible that a number of persons should co-operate for any one single object, (which is the use of forming a society); or that in any other respect they should live together as a community."—*Strabo, Geogr.* lib. 16, (tom. ii. p. 1105, ed. Amstel. 1707,) apud Hooker's *Eccl. P.* bk. i. s. 15.

The following is the eloquent conclusion of Hooker's first book, in which he states the nature and use of all laws:—"Wherefore, that here we may briefly end: Of law there can be no less acknowledged, than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world: all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power: both angels and men, and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all, with uniform consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy."—*Eccl. Polity*, bk. i. the end.

lance of a different principle from that which was designed and applied by the original contriver.*

Looking up to their founders and political fathers upon this principle, the Asiatic nations have for their principles of government obedience and imitation. They labour to enforce and observe the social duties, upon the foundation of brotherly love and attention; and they honour and obey, with filial admiration and observance, their parents, their ancestors, their emperors, their founders.—Their minds are disposed and ready prepared for reverence to God, upon the same principle.—Religion therefore is an essential motive in all their thoughts and designs; piety is their passion; and an essential power in their government.—The fruit and their reward is permanence; and therefore, notwithstanding their degeneracy and corruptions, their lives are prolonged for a time and a season.

Our growing principle is irreverence for our ancestors; disrespect for governments, disrespect for our parents, disrespect also towards God. Infidelity is

* In a similar manner, if my own observation be correct, education almost always has a tendency to deteriorate, in each separate establishment. Each master begins upon some well-considered plan; but, as he proceeds, his temper in the course of years is soured, his interest declines, his idleness innovates upon his watchfulness and attention, his increase of wealth introduces him to ease and comfort and indulgence,—he proceeds more by rules, and depends more upon regulation than personal observation; he substitutes uniform severity instead of a judicious and tender mixture of punishment and reward: of mildness and rigour, of disgrace and encouragement; he looks to the profit more than to the duties and the credit of the concern; and his celebrated establishment becomes a school of vulgarity and libertinism. In a large family, the younger children are generally the most spoilt, and the least polished and educated.

indigenous here ; it is the growth of Europe.* It can be transplanted from one end of Europe to another : from Greece to Rome ; from Rome to France, and Germany, and England ; but it cannot take root in any other less favoured soil: it is peculiar to Christendom.†

The passion for progress produces these effects. A constant desire of improvement and change could not consist with a reverence for existing laws, and for those who have gone before us, to whom we are indebted for them. Therefore we have emancipated ourselves from this respect. And as respect and reverence is a habit, and habits must be consistent,—and as existing laws are all part and parcel of one another, and the law of God is part of the existing law, and the most reverend and established part of it, and therefore attains the greatest respect, and affords the greatest impediment to change and innovation,—therefore the law of God must be included in the same dishonour, and Christianity must be concluded to be only one stage in the progress of the world, and a step in philosophy.

Since it is the interest of one part of the world that things should remain as they are,—the rich and great being satisfied and at ease, and desirous to remain so,—and so long as wealth and distinction are the objects of desire, and believed to be the means of happiness, the rest of men being dissatisfied, and envious and discontented,—hence it arises that where the desire and endeavour after change is active and energetic, there

* Here and elsewhere I include America, as constituting a part of the European system of nations.

† Averroes is not an exception. His opinions were altogether of European growth ; and they flourished chiefly in Christendom.

must be division in the world, and the spirit of Party. Party spirit therefore has been the characteristic of modern governments, wherever the desire of change and reform has been in active exercise. So long as the constitution of law and government is fixed, and acknowledged to be unchangeable, the wise ruler may select the best persons from all classes and ranks for the executive government, and so prevent the rise of or crush the spirit of party, where it is disposed to grow up. But when the public mind is set upon change and experiment, and legislative measures and reforms are to be entrusted to ministers, as well as the offices of executive government, then the ministers of state must be selected from the one section or the other of the parties in the country, from the improvers or the preservers, from the obstructors or the innovators, in each particular interest and department. The spirit of party therefore has been the predominant and moving principle, especially in England, ever since the spirit of progress and change has been the leading object and idea in the minds of the people.*

The spirit of party and division has grown, and must

* It has been openly announced by a senator, that for a politician, "to the desertion of all principle, to declare that he had divested himself entirely of the trammels of party, was both disgusting and as disgraceful to all public character, as it would be for him in private life to assert that he divested himself of the trammels of virtue, and opened to his unhallowed acceptance a wide field of unmitigated vice." And when of late Sir C. Bagot appointed to offices two French Canadians, formerly favouring the insurgents, and strongly opposed to himself in political opinion, namely, M. Lafontaine to be attorney-general, and M. Girouard to a seat in the council, this act of impartiality was styled an outrage on political morality.

continue to grow, with the increasing desire of improvement and change, till it exhibits itself in the most rancorous malice, the bitterest slanders, the grossest exaggerations and falsehoods, the deepest blindness of opinion and theory and belief, and blood-thirsty violence. So, deadly hostility and division are the characteristic of a people which professes Christianity: the religion of union and self-denial and mutual forbearance; the religion of brotherly-kindness, and of the Prince of Peace. Party is divided and set against party, class against class, the poor against the rich, the ignoble against the noble, manufacturers against agriculturists, the laity against the clergy,—fathers are set against their children, and children against their fathers; mothers-in-law against the daughters-in-law; every man's hand is against his brother; and a man's foes are of his own house:—such societies and governments shall be divided and split, and continually rent, and broken into smaller and smaller fragments—till they become like the chaff of the summer threshing-floor, and the wind carries them all away, and no place is found for them.

The hearts of the fathers are being turned from the children, and the children from the fathers, especially in this, that the State is dividing itself off from the Church; the laity is disengaging itself from the clergy; politics are now said to be separate from religion; political virtue from private morality. In this conflict and division, we have a feeble but growing religious principle on the one side;—on the other side, are leagued and banded together all the powers of the world, the science and worship of money, machinery and trade,

dissent, infidelity, the bankrupt in character and fortune; and all these joined themselves to the party which of late years constituted the government, and which, if we do not go back from our present principles, must govern us again. Both parties are growing, and must continue to grow, and the separation must become more and more distinct; but mammon must prevail, and in the end be triumphant, till it bring down the merited judgment upon us, unless the tide of corruption be turned, and the progress of division be arrested by Providence amongst us. The world must prevail, at least for a time, and reduce sound principle and true religion to extremity, and the nations become bankrupt in moral character and strength, as well as in finances.

One field of division and decision, in which the battle has to be fought, is that which circumstances and the support of the late government have marked out, between the manufacturers and the agriculturists. The division is fortuitous and artificial; but it will serve as well as others to rally the respective forces, with more or less discernment.

The manufacturing interests must in the end prevail: there can hardly be a doubt of it. The land is of a definite extent, and the increase of its production, or of the population which identifies itself with it, cannot exceed a certain rate, or advance beyond some ultimate limit. The manufacturing population and wealth is not limited by any necessary bounds; and it is not likely to meet with any impediment or discouragement. It must advance, in prosperity and in adversity. In prosperity, its power advances by its wealth:—for wealth is the

measure of importance in this country.—In adversity, it must advance by clamour, and pity, and intimidation, and the stern force of famine and hopelessness, and necessity which knows no opposition.

So soon as manufactures and machinery once become predominant, thenceforth their exclusive power and pre-eminence will become consolidated, and irrevocably confirmed.* Then all legislative acts and measures must be accommodated to this ruling principle; and the nation must become a nation of manufacturers. Its chief or sole dependence must then be upon trade and commerce; and its fortunes must decline or flourish in proportion to the success of these branches, which are now become the trunk. But the trading and manufacturing world are not only subject to greater fluctuations than agriculture; they are liable to the most violent and vital revulsions, and almost entire stagnation. They seem to political economists to be founded upon more stable principles than the harvests and the seasons; but they are liable in truth to much greater convulsions than those of nature: far more destructive in their effects than all natural earthquakes. This truth is brought more and more home to us by every new ex-

* The first victory is in the abolition of the corn-laws. To the extent by which the manufacturers are benefited, and foreign wheat is introduced, to that extent the agriculturists must suffer, and the growth of corn be discouraged; and the wealth, population and power of agriculture must decrease in nearly equal proportion. Thus the relative power of the manufacturing interest would at once be increased *per saltum*, and confirmed irrevocably. I am not speaking at all of the merits or demerits of a corn law; but only of the operation by which it will be done away, and of the effect upon the relative position of the agriculturists and manufacturers.

perience; and it is evident that these revulsions grow more and more violent, with the extension of manufactures, and the increased dependence upon trading wealth, and commerce.

This is the end therefore. When our whole dependence is staked upon our manufacturing and commercial success, and while we are rejoicing and revelling in an unexampled course of expense and luxury and prosperity, some such commercial crisis and revulsion will occur with us as lately occurred in America, or in all probability a worse one, and the nation will at once become bankrupt in its finances, as it will have become concurrently in moral strength and character.*

I would not enter upon the subject of machinery at length; because I am pointing attention only to the tendency and the principle. But I must stop to suggest one or two points and reflections.

Manufactures are commended and sought to be encouraged, because they make money. This is not a false representation of them. For the usefulness and necessity and the want of the particular articles is not

* The different effect of a dependence upon agriculture and manufactures is most obvious. If agriculture is depressed, still the greater number of the labourers continue to be employed, though at reduced wages, as land is never thrown out of produce. If manufactures are depressed, whole works and factories are discontinued for a time, throwing entirely out of employment immense numbers of workmen. The consequences of the one are trying and severe indeed, but never devoid of hope or desperate; the effect of the other is utterly ruinous. Several iron-works have been suspended of late, occasioning the dismissal of three or four thousand men each on an instant. Large factories are often discontinued, occasioning the dismissal of from four to five thousand workmen.

the subject dwelt upon ; this is trusted to the interests of the inventors and manufacturers ; and the creating a want is at least as often talked of and commended and aimed at as the supplying it. If then the making of money is the virtue and the end of manufactures, let the advocates of this economy call to mind the fable of Midas, and consider whether the gold which they so covet will serve all purposes ; and whether the possession of it, as compared with food, may not be too exclusive, and unsatisfying.

Manufactures being made for money, not for use, are we not deceiving ourselves by this exclusive contemplation of a fictitious object, and blinding our eyes to our true advantage and interests concerning them ? Manufactures are made to sell, not for use, like the Jew pedlar's ; and they are bad like his in like manner. Their cheapness more than their goodness being looked to, for the sake of the present saleableness, the character of our goods for quality is being lost. We depend upon the multitude of our goods and customers, not upon the quality of the one, and the steadiness of the other ; we look to the number and power and rapid execution of our machines, not to the skill and merit and credit of our workmen. But it may be doubtful whether so good a roll of customers can be kept up, with a declining rate of value and quality. It is a question whether "cheap and bad," and a numberless host of inferior customers, be the best dependence and security for the prerogative of English products and manufactures.

Machines, too, may they not over-produce ? especially

if a check or surfeit should come to the appetite of our consumers. But may not machines over-produce under ordinary circumstances? Most clearly they can. One block-machine has produced all the blocks which have been wanted for the British navy; and it is not always working. It must be the same of all other articles required for ships; and so it is of various other articles of use in all departments. The button-shank machine has operated as effectually as the block-machine, to swallow up the trade, since its invention. Four button-shank machines, in one room, and worked by one engine, supply all the button-shanks that are made; superseding many thousands of workmen.*

Another point also in respect to machines is, that inventions seem likely to overtake one another, so as to swallow up profits. The spirit of invention is so rife and active, that a profit can hardly be realized sufficient to pay the cost of a machine, before some new improvement renders it useless, and requires a fresh enterprize and investment of capital. It is said in the manufacturing world, that a new invention is worth five years on the average; and this period is diminishing. As canals supersede roads, and railroads canals,†

* It is over-production which has caused the late depression in the iron trade. If loss of markets can occasion ruin, over-production is not an impossible thing. It could only be impossible through markets being illimitable, and demand always sure to exist, at prices sufficient to remunerate the production.

† The Exchequer Loan Commissioners often find this occur:—that after they have advanced money for the construction of a road or canal, money is soon after required of them for another canal or railroad, the success of which depends upon the disuse of the former work, upon

so machines follow upon and overtake one another in breathless succession, before the debt is discharged by means of which the former ones were constructed ; and thus the world is getting deeper and deeper into debt, and profitless expenditure, and hopeless embarrassment. May not inventions, and even improvements, go on too fast ?

The political economists say that all this will rectify itself, and work its own cure, through the operation of each person's care and effort in his own concerns, and for his own advantage, and the necessary and mutual accommodation and co-operation of self-interest.

This is the selfish system of political economy ! another child of our modern liberty :—of the effort to free ourselves from the restraints of government, and the resolution to give full scope and vent to all our worst passions and inclinations.

The selfish system of political economy ! Commercial epicureanism ! Trade has continually grown, and continually grows more passionate, artful, unsound, deceitful, speculative, profligate, unprofitable, with the nearer approach to this system,—the same as the corresponding principle in morals has led to lewd indulgence and enervating licentiousness,—yet the votaries of money-worship and pecuniary lust look for a cure or corrective of the galling sore, in a deeper indulgence of the passion which has caused the distemper.

Did ever self-love and self-interest settle the affairs the profits of which the repayment of the loan first advanced was secured. Nevertheless the commissioners generally feel it their duty to make the second advance in such cases.

of men in other subjects, to mutual advantage and satisfaction?—Yes, as two nations wage war together, with deadly violence, till being mutually exhausted and drained, they perceive it was their interest never to have begun the quarrel; and yet in a few years they renew the contest again, with more rancorous vigour. Or one nation swallows up the surrounding nations, and crushes them successively. So do rivals and competitors in business wage an exhausting war of unprofitable cheapness, underbidding one another to their mutual ruin; and the few large houses promise to swallow up and annihilate the minutely ramified and health-producing trade of the innumerable retailers.*

Will self-interest settle and adjust the differences between the agriculturists and manufacturers? Will it, between the silk manufacturers and the cotton spinners? Will it, among the iron masters themselves?—who have increased their production of iron so much beyond the average demand, that more than a hundred furnaces have been lately blown out, to the ruin of well established works, and of a hundred thousand workmen.† Will self-love settle the interests of the sawyers? who

* One silk factory in Macclesfield employs 8000 hands; being one-third of the working population of that town; and more than a half of those in regular employment. One woollen manufactory in Yorkshire contains a single room of three acres; lighted by raised skylights; on the roof of which there is soil and grass, and sheep feeding. One chemical work at Glasgow has fourteen acres of roof; and a chimney as high as St. Paul's.

† While numerous silk mills are being shut up at Macclesfield for want of demand in the trade, the manufacturer above alluded to has been adding to his mill a building containing nearly an acre of power looms.

murdered one another for receiving lower wages ; * or of the Chartists ? who pulled down the houses of those who gave a higher price for meat than that which they had dictated. Will self-interest divide the inheritance between brothers, or the custom among tradesmen, according to their necessities and deserts, and without advantage to fraud and chicanery ? Yes, when self-indulgence will work its own cure in a drunkard and debauchee. These discover their true interests by fatal experience, when age and disease have come upon them, and they are already suffering the penalties of their self-indulgence. But the sentence is irrevocable. Their habit is so confirmed, and their disease so deep-rooted, and their force and frame so enfeebled and enervated, that they are incapable of effort even if repentance could avail them, and their condition is desperate. So it is with the body politic. The diseases of self-love and self-indulgence are deeply rooting and developing themselves, and are beginning to become apparent ; but we do not acknowledge the origin of them ; and by the time that they force unwilling conviction by their torture and aggravation, it will be a long time too late to hope for a cure, or for the existence of the energy necessary to restore ourselves from them.

Reason, it is true, corrects its own errors, in the long course of time, and through dear-bought experience. But in the meantime it introduces other errors before the first are extinguished ; as fresh heresies have suc-

* At Ashton-under-Line.

ceeded those which have been suppressed: like the Hydra's heads, each one giving place to two;—and thus we are continually living under new errors of our own invention; while at the same time we appear to be continually growing wiser and better, by the correction of old ones.

It is necessary that the government should take up the questions and settle them, between the different parties in the state, especially between the agricultural interest and the manufacturers. The country ought no longer to be governed by parties, getting the uppermost in turn in political power; by a succession therefore of tyrannies. It is the office of a government not to be the instrument but the umpire between parties; otherwise it is no government. We have lived of late under a tyranny of the manufacturers and machine-capitalists. This tyranny must be suppressed; or the balance and safety of the country must be sacrificed. This rule, of selfishness set in authority in one branch, has led us into the principle of perfect licence of competition, in all departments of trade: of competition for custom, to the extent of fraud,—of competition in quantity, to the sacrifice of quality,—of cheapness at the expense of goodness; which has brought our manufactures, through this principle of quantity and cheapness,—which is the same as badness,—as opposed to quality and price,—to be despised and rejected in all markets.

The same tyranny has forced for the manufacturers another prerogative, that of exemption from taxes; which is wholly subversive of the natural and necessary balance between all different interests in the state, and

must in the end prove destructive to themselves, as well as to all the other members of the body politic. It cannot be wondered at, that the manufacturing population and interests should have so outgrown themselves, when everything connected with machinery and manufactures is untaxed, and this unnatural premium is held out in favour of manufacturing enterprize. The rates to the poor are paid by the landed interest, but the manufacturing stock in trade is unassessed. In addition to the exemption of all moveable machines, it is a known practice, to assess fixed-plants in trade at such reduced rates as amount to an exemption. Every thing that a working man eats or uses is taxed to the government exigencies. His tea is taxed; his sugar is taxed; his beer is taxed; his tobacco is taxed; his bread is enhanced by a tax; the bricks and timber of which his house is built are taxed; he or his landlord pays taxes for his house, and therefore his rent is taxed. But the machine which is employed as a substitute for men's labour, pays no taxes. The house it is placed in pays no assessed taxes, like other houses; it eats nothing that is taxed; it is wholly unassessed to the poor or the burdens of the state; and the materials of which it is constructed are untaxed. This unjust and impolitic exemption gives an unnatural spur to the increase of machinery, which while it calls for more workmen at certain times, during the temporary prosperity of the particular branch of manufacture, requires them in no proportion whatever to the increase of work performed, and occasions in the end a glut, and a cessation, and a total absence of employment for these increased numbers of working men; and then the

favoured speculators and theorists, who have caused the evil, complain that the population is redundant.

The extension of machinery is a war against the poor.

It is the instrument of oppression in the hands of the rich, to give wealth and capital an advantage in its contest with poverty. The whole history and event of the system has proved this. The only remedy which the working people have against too low wages, is in combinations and strikes. But the argument of the capitalists to show them the impolicy of this step, is that strikes have caused the invention of many ingenious machines, which have superseded more than any others the employment of labourers,—and the operation has been as successful as it professes to be in defeating the workmen.*

The rapid increase of machinery is reducing the work-people to ruin. It is said, why, see the increase of numbers in manufacturing towns. This increase is drawn thither, and fully employed for a time; just while increased cheapness gives a temporary spur to the demand for a particular article. But, when by all

* A strike of the workmen at Birmingham gave occasion to the invention of the art of rolling gun barrels. A subsequent strike among the welders, caused the invention of the method of welding the barrels under the roller; which is the same as that now used for welding gas-pipes.

In the report of the Constabulary Force Commissioners, 1839, will be found an account of the injury to the workmen of Sheffield and other places, from strikes for wages.

The strikes in the potteries, in 1836, caused a loss to the workmen of £155,000.—*Report of Statistical Society*, London, vol. i.

See account of a strike for wages at Nottingham, by Mr. Felkin.

Mr. Slaney's Speech, 1840, pp. 5, 8, 36, 37.

running the same race, they have glutted the markets, and produced disgust by the commonness and inferiority of the article, then these new workmen are all thrown off, and require to be employed and fed; but there is no one to employ or feed them:—while the glut of goods is utterly out of proportion to the number of hands which produced them. In this exigency, the capitalists and machine owners have nothing to do but to let their machines lie idle: which do not feed or cost while keeping, or pay taxes or rates while lying idle, like flesh and blood. These then are folding their hands, and hoarding their riches, and crying aloud that their machines and capital are unproductive; which they make more account of than that thousands of living souls are in misery, who produced their wealth. They do not consider that any portion of their increased capital should go to feed those who produced it; but talk only of relieving the workmen's distress by fresh employment of their machines, which, as soon as employed, will heap to themselves enormous profits, give to the working people a present maintenance, and renew and increase the operation which caused the evil.

Then it is said that, increase production how much soever you will, there will always be a demand, because other producers in the same proportion will have other goods to give in exchange. But, independent of the positive fact that the glut of markets actually exists, and the misery is produced, this has not been considered, that the profits from machines and such multiplied production, goes into the pockets of the machine owners and capitalists, and not into that of the work-

men. It is the machine market which earns everything, and receives all profit; and not the helpless workpeople, who have a subsidiary and powerless position in it, and hold no control, and obtain little benefit from it.

Machines are altogether an advantage to capital and capitalists, and throw the whole control and balance into their power, to the depression of wages and human labour.

It is evident that unless a tax be imposed upon machinery, and manufacturers be made to contribute their fair proportion to the burdens of the country, the equipoise of interests and of population cannot be preserved, and society must be overturned for want of balance. It is said that a tax of a pound upon each horse-power in steam engines, would produce three or four millions. This would do a little to meet the evil. But the operation would be unequal. The four button-shank machines, worked by one small engine, do the work of some thousands of men. A pumping machine, of the same power, might not supersede one-tenth of the number; and the profits might differ in a still greater proportion. Paper machines supersede ninety-five out of a hundred workmen; occupying only a few yards of space, and paying scarcely any rates or taxes. One of the reasons for using a machine, is to avoid taxes and rates, and the just burthens which other people endure. The most obvious policy is, that every machine should contribute what would have been paid by the workpeople whom it has superseded. It is admitted at all events that taxes ought to bear some proportion to the means of living;—and the system and returns already

in use for the purpose of the Income Tax might be applied with success to equalize the contributions towards the poor, as well as to the other public burdens.

An equal tax on machines would be a benefit to the manufacturers.

ESSAY XII.

FALSE SYSTEM OF TRADE.

DECLINE OF PROFITS—BAD PRACTICES AMONG MANUFACTURERS—MERCHANTS—TRADESMEN—MONOPOLY OF CHEAPNESS—ADVERTIZING SYSTEM—AN OLD ENGLISH TRADESMAN—DECLINE OF HONESTY AND CHARACTER—EXCESSIVE COMPETITION—FICTITIOUS CAPITAL—JOINT STOCK COMPANIES—LOWERING OF PRICES—CHEAPNESS NOT QUALITY—PURCHASERS ENCOURAGE THE EXISTING EVILS—THE DUTIES OF PURCHASERS—LUXURIES BECOME NECESSARIES, AND MAKE A COUNTRY POOR—HOW TO BE RICH—THE EVILS ARE GENERAL.

WHAT we most pride ourselves in, and most rely upon, is our mercantile pre-eminence and prosperity. Our wealth, it is said, is constantly increasing; and our system of trade therefore must be wise and good, and our national condition healthy and upon a firm basis.

The foundation of these expectations is unsound, and the steps to the conclusion are fallacious. They rest upon reasoning and calculation, rather than experience,—in a subject which is too deep and intricate for perfect analysis;—and facts and results are disregarded, which alone can test the accuracy and truth of such speculations.

There is an inherent unsoundness and disease in mercantile life, which, if unchecked, works its own corrup-

tion and disorganization. Trade should be for the use and happiness of the people of a nation, not for the foundation of its strength. If this end is lost sight of, and wealth itself is supposed to be the proper object of desire, it is the same whether in an individual or a nation, the wisdom and principle must be lost, the character must become corrupted, the happiness and health of mind and body must be undermined, and misery must be the end of it. The national and individual happiness and character of this country and its people, are sacrificed to the national and individual aggrandizement of that power which consists in riches.

The state of trade is wretched, and growing more and more desperate; whether we inquire into it among the manufacturers, among the merchants, or among the tradesmen. No one class of manufacturers or merchants can make a fair and steady profit; no whole class of tradesmen can maintain themselves and their families by proper diligence and skill, and place out their children, with sufficient means and fair prospects, after them.

Together with his profits the character of the tradesman is gone down; and we can no longer boast as we did, or depend upon the high character and credit of the British merchant and trader; for this has fallen away in the eyes of foreigners, and in our own estimation. These are no empty words. I shall support them by some examples in the several lines and branches of trade; and each one will see and acknowledge the truth of the illustrations in his own department and sphere of information,—and add to them.

It is the practice of manufacturers to sell their articles, in the first instance, at a loss, in order to obtain a custom for them on account of their goodness and quality in comparison with their price,—and then, when the reputation and custom is gained, to lower the quality, and so to make a profit. This is done, and known to be done, by the most respectable manufacturers. The manner and extent in which it is done by the lower class of tradesmen follows of course, and requires no description.

As already before mentioned, the East India Company could have returned a chest of tea from England, and got it received back in China, upon their assertion that it was delivered in an inferior condition; and their goods in like manner would pass up to Peking under the seal of the company, without being examined; because their credit was unimpeachable. The British merchant had in general a nearly equal reputation all over the world. A single act of dishonesty in any one of them, would have been resented as a dishonour done to their whole body, and an impeachment of their high credit and character. Now, honour and good faith are held cheap, and are little to be reckoned upon, even among the higher class of merchants and manufacturers. Personal character still weighs in some instances, between those who are personally acquainted and have had many dealings together,—though this is declining with the rest, and losing its influence; and more value is attributed to the evidences of a contract, and to the supposed money ability, which cannot be known for certain, than to

the character and personal habit and conduct, which may be more nearly ascertained ;—but little or no faith is now attached to a man as an admitted member of a highly honourable class of men, and because he is a British merchant. A consignment of English goods would be as closely inspected by the purchaser, before parting with the price of them, in a home or a foreign market, as those of another nation.

The following evidence was given before a committee of the House of Commons in the year 1840 :*

“ *Mr. Charles Warwick*, is partner in the house of Ovington, Warwick & Co. in the city, who have a branch of their business at Glasgow. They are extensively engaged in the printing of woven fabrics, generally mixed fabrics, such as silk and wool, cotton and wool, challis, cashmeres, mousseline-de-laines, &c. The original designs for these fabrics, made by their house, cost last year exceeding 2000*l.* * * * In the years 1836 and 1837, their mousseline-de-laines were copied almost as soon as produced, but it was by persons of no eminence, and their articles were of such inferior quality that it did not interfere much with them. In 1838 a circumstance occurred which induced them to seek more earnestly for protection. During the winter months he had been endeavouring to get an article of superior fabric, and, as was their usual custom, they were to make their first spring deliveries on the 20th of February. On the 12th of February, Mr. Thomas, a

* Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed 7th Feb. 1840, to inquire into the expediency of extending copyright of designs. From *Mechan. Mag.* No. 894, p. 341.

buyer from the house of Messrs. Morrison and Co., requested to be allowed to have twenty-seven dresses which he had selected. To this the witness said he had the most decided objection. That he would not do for Messrs. Morrison what he would not do for any one else. That it was imperative upon him to have a delivery day, and not to give a preference. Mr. Thomas replied, 'Oh! I have looked these dresses out, no soul shall see them; we are just packing a case now, and they will be shipped this afternoon for the foreign market.'

* * * Having done business with Morrisons to a great extent for some years, he put faith in their representative. The consequence was he ordered the dresses to go. There were twenty-seven dresses, containing eight patterns, but different colours. On the 19th, according to his usual custom, witness wrote a few notes to the principal buyers, stating that his house would be ready on Wednesday the 20th, to deliver their new goods. On that day, two of his own customers, with whom he expected to make large parcels, called, and showed him a note from Mr. Thomas, stating, 'Before you buy Ovington's goods give me a look in.' One of the gentlemen said to witness, 'I do not understand the meaning of it myself; can you explain it to me.' Witness said he could not; and wished them to go down and see what it did mean. The gentlemen accordingly went to Fore-street on Wednesday, the 20th, and was shown those dresses, that had been obtained under the false pretence of shipping, and was told, 'Those are Ovington's goods at 22s.; now on Saturday, the 23rd, we make our delivery of those eight patterns in all the

various colourings; we shall bring them out at 15s.' That was the first time witness ever had a patron for piracy; the piracies generally before that were of the most mean, contemptible, shabby description. People were ashamed to be seen in the street who had been guilty of piracy in London, except in very low trades indeed. This was the first instance in which their property had been assailed by any one of any consequence; it perfectly paralyzed their trade altogether. Witness was enabled to trace his goods, and found the copies were produced at Glasgow. Other houses followed the example of Messrs. Morrison, to such an extent as to paralyze the witness's trade; one set of designs being frequently copied by three or four houses; and this tended to work a most astonishing change as regarded the pirates themselves."

This is only one example of what is becoming too general in all branches of commerce and manufactures. A man does not scruple supplanting his rival and competitor by whatever means, and at whatever sacrifice of honour and good faith. Brookman and Langdon, the celebrated pencil makers, showed their machines to a manufacturer in another branch of trade. This man forthwith set up a pencil manufactory, with similar machinery. The return of the corn averages for the last week in July, 1842, was rejected by government, as having been studiously falsified in the principal market, for the sake of adding some profits to the corn-factors. Recent discovery has been made of extensive frauds upon the Custom House, practised habitually, and for a long time, by certain large houses, especially in the silk

trade. Good faith is no longer to be looked to as a sufficient security either between merchant and merchant, or between manufacturer and customer ; but we must look for the protection of law, and to legal obligations and securities. The use of bills of exchange was formerly for foreign commerce ; but now bills and promissory notes are used for assurances between persons living in the same town, and in adjoining streets. This is a state of things which we cannot go back from. When a disease of this kind has once got possession of us, there is no recovery from it ; it must necessarily grow worse. One successful act of dishonesty is sure to lead to others, and to meet with a crowd of imitators ; like a successful speculation. The example first given shows how one great name is sufficient to give countenance and a warrant to the most evil practices, and to spread them like a pestilence. “ Diseases are catching, but health you know is not contagious.”

The condition of the retail tradesmen is even worse than that of the merchants and manufacturers. Competition is so increased, and profits are so much lowered, that there is no facility of supporting a family by regular trade, and of providing for them by the moderate savings of twenty years of business. While profits are continually becoming lower, and more and more insufficient, the expectation of amassing a fortune in a short time is constantly increasing. There exists at once a growing impatience to make large fortunes rapidly, and a growing insufficiency of profits to make it easy for tradesmen

to make any fortune at all, or even to maintain themselves.

The consequence is, that tradesmen struggle to live, and endeavour to thrive by ruining one another. It is not a proper competition, and endeavour to excel one another by the perfection of their articles; but it is a plot to attract custom, and to monopolise a whole trade, to the ruin of others engaged in the same line,—not by quality, but by cheapness, and by lowering prices below what can be remunerating with only a fair share of custom,—and by every species of attraction, through outward appearance and advertisement, and other means of establishing, not a character, but a fashion.

We are all acquainted with this system in some of the more public transactions of business; as the stage-coaches and steam-boats. We know that they carry passengers for a time at unremunerating prices, in order to try which shall first be ruined; and so to obtain a monopoly of the custom and traffic. This system enters equally into other branches of trade, according to the opportunity. Tradesmen sell at prices which never could support them, and by which no one could live, if each shopkeeper in the trade were to have his proper share of custom. That is, they live by ruining one another. Some firms have made a practice of watching for the tenders of more respectable firms, and then offering for every work, at five per cent. under their lowest price. Some persons who had pursued this system, have been lately gazetted as bankrupts, in the Russian trade. A shoemaker, in Tottenham Court Road, established a large custom by underselling all

the other shoemakers in the neighbourhood. He confessed that he could not live upon such small profits as he made, except by the immense number of shoes which he sold;—and other shops in the neighbourhood were ruined by him.

Honest and affluent persons ought not to deal with such shops; or to pay prices for articles which must be unremunerating to the trade in general. “If,” says Sir Roger de Coverley, “a man offers me an article for less than it is worth, I kick him down stairs for a thief; for I know that either he must be cheating me, or he must have come improperly by it.”

Advertisement is one chief means by which a custom is obtained which will enable a shopkeeper to thrive by such monopolizing prices :—*the monopoly of cheapness*; which is worse and more dishonest, and more injurious to trade, than the monopoly of a charter or a patent, or a protecting duty, or the favour of government.

There is no profit made upon silver forks and spoons, by an ordinary silversmith. The silver is 5s. 1d. an ounce, the making is 6d., the duty is 1s. 6d. The price of the silver forks and spoons is 7s. 2d. per ounce. The ostensible profit therefore is 1d. per ounce. In dessert spoons and forks, the making is 11d. per ounce; the price is 7s. 8d. The profit is 2d. This lowness of profit is produced by advertisements of cheap prices; which attract a monopoly custom, and remunerate the advertisers, through the losses of other tradesmen. But other silversmiths, who maintain a custom by character and connection, not by advertisement, and by the terms upon which they stand with

their regular customers, cannot send in their bill and require payment on delivery, lest they should give offence; and so this small amount of profit is soon swallowed up in the interest of the first cost of the silver, and of the duty which has been paid in advance, between the time of the first purchase of the metal and the ultimate payment.

Nothing is left towards the payment of rent, or of the skill and superintendence and risk of the master, which ought to maintain his family; and so the whole of his business is an expense and a loss, so far as regards those articles of manufacture.

The small expected profit on the vast and beautiful conservatory in the Horticultural Gardens, was entirely swallowed up by the occurrence of a few wet days during its erection; which interrupted the workmen, and made their labour more expensive.

This extreme lowness of profits exists in other articles; especially those which are of the simplest and most necessary kind: as sugar, tea, bread, and other plain articles of food.

Trade cannot go on upon this system. Yet we can hardly go back from it. It is evident that these things are becoming worse. The very system itself arises from the difficulties of trade and the diminution of profits; and the remedies which people apply, each in their own case, only increase the evil, and bring down profits lower; till, in the end, more losses than profit will be made, and trade will cease to be profitable. Yet people will be all the more obliged to go on trading. The ad-

vertising system must fail at length; and though a few great fortunes may be made by it, the advertising shops must ruin themselves at length, when in the end all other shopkeepers have become advertisers in self-defence. Then no sufficient profit will be made by any one; and the expense of advertisement will only lie as a weight upon the whole trade, and as an additional charge upon the profits, which the system itself has thus diminished.

For this is another way in which trade is becoming ruined, namely, by the additional expense with which it is more and more conducted, and the additional charges which are being imposed upon the diminished profits. Setting aside, for the present, the increased style of living, and the consideration of what are becoming necessities of life in each station, far beyond what was looked for in former times, or even by our own fathers,—the first expense of establishing a shop is very greatly increased. The use of handsome shop fronts was at first for advertisement;—and this is one kind of advertisement which is now becoming general, and a charge upon every one who thinks of setting up in business. The competition in this line is greater than in the quality of the goods. As much as £5000 has been paid for a shop front; and some of the panes of plate glass have cost more than £100 a piece. Many shop fronts cost £2000. And after this is paid, what capital can remain to stock the shop? No ordinary profit or custom can repay these expenses; and the consequence is, that the keepers of shops are obliged to resort to all

manner of means to make profits and attract custom, such as to put them upon a very different footing of character from the respected London tradesman of the last century. The respectable tradesman of that time would not put an article in his window. He stood upon his character. The personal character of a tradesman is now little inquired into. The shop-front is of greater importance. Reliance upon the outside and appearance, is of kin to untruth; oratory and advertisement are an irresistible temptation to falsehood. Tradesmen not only now put goods into their shop-windows, and ticket the prices upon them, but, what is an inevitable result, it is quite a common practice to put goods into the windows which have not been manufactured by the workmen within, and are of a much superior sample to anything which they are capable of executing. This is done in shoes, in coats, in hats, in stocks, and almost every other article. I have known this done by a miniature painter. The prices ticketed upon the articles are much below their worth; and there are no goods inside the shop corresponding to the sample.

The tradesmen of the last century were of a different stamp. The following is an anecdote of one of them.—

Hooker, linen-draper, in Cheapside,—uncle to the celebrated Dr. Hooker, who kept a school at Rottingdean,—came to a merchant living in Bishopsgate Street, one of his regular customers, and told him with much concern, that a great misfortune had happened to him : —a gentleman had left his pocket-book upon his coun-

ter, whom he never saw before, and knew nothing of; and asked for his advice in such an unfortunate predicament. "Why, open it," said his friend, "and you will most probably find his name in it." "Open it!" replied Hooker, with dismay, "do you suppose, sir, that I would open a gentleman's pocket-book? No, that I never will do." "Then I will," answered the merchant. "Do as you please, sir," said Hooker, "but I will be no party to any such proceeding;"—and he walked to the window, and looked out, that he might not be a witness to the act. The merchant opened the book, and found the owner's address; and the pocket-book was sent to him.

All this would now be called a foolish and absurd prejudice, according to modern apprehension. But it was a prejudice which secured him in an upright course of dealing, and his character from being liable to any impeachment. Mr. Hooker resisted, to the last moment that he could, the then increasing practice of putting goods in the shop-windows; and at length he did it only in the most sparing way, just enough to show what was the kind of trade that was carried on within. He was not such a man as would have put up an article to view not made by himself, or ticketed it at a fictitious value. Customers, till lately, would go after such tradesmen to the city, and into the narrow streets,—where there was no show in the window; and a man's character brought him customers. Now this is insufficient. Tradesmen must come to the West end of the town, and set up shop-fronts,—and exhibit goods like other men, by way

of attraction and advertisement. We shall see tickets upon them in the end, and perhaps bills in the windows, with “Bankrupt’s Stock,”—“Great Bargains within,”—and, “Below Cost Price,”—and, “Enormous Sacrifice.” The system connected with these last-mentioned exhibitions would be long to detail. They are some of the means and evidences, among many others, of the operations which are going on, and gradually more and more prevailing, of ruin and chicanery.

Now it is difficult for a tradesman to be honest, in this race of competition and advertisement and cheapness. If profits are nothing, those only can live who practise some deception, either in the quality, or the quantity, or by the evasion of duty, or by grinding the workmen down by insufficient wages, or by protracting their payments to the wholesale houses which supply them, beyond the time agreed, and so depriving them of that profit which they hope to make by their business. The cheating dealer, who evades duty, has always some advantage over the honest tradesman, who pays all his dues, and meets all his engagements to a day; and this, when it is only a part of his profit. But in the case supposed, it must be the whole profit; and therefore it is a temptation almost beyond resistance, to adopt some of the means by which other men appear to thrive: and men of station and character too,—for money gives station and reputation in this country. And thus examples are found in higher and higher walks successively,—like the case of piracy in patterns above quoted; till at length deception must

become the rule and principle of commerce and trade generally and universally. Wealth is so highly honoured, that people cannot resist the temptation, of seeing those around them growing rich by speculation and fraud, without imitating them.*

The honest tradesman, in a small way, cannot live. The custom which might keep him going, at the diminished rate of profits, is enticed away from him by advertisements and shop-fronts; and he can still less afford to enter himself in the race of competition by a costly window and advertisements, so as to keep his fair position. If he is rash enough, through necessity, to set up a front too, with borrowed capital like many,† and so

* The fraudulent contrivances by which dishonest men are obtaining advantages over the fair tradesman, cannot be enumerated in any number and detail, for shame's sake, and for the sake of the persons concerned in them. Among examples which have been made public, a recent bankruptcy exposed the practice of one firm giving a character to another, which was deeply its debtor and insolvent, for the sake of securing a greater proportion of their own debt. The transaction was denied by the parties concerned;—but one thing was acknowledged by the trading world in general—that the practice was notoriously a common one.

In a publication which will be presently quoted at some length, another common practice is alluded to in these terms:—"For example, a trader purchasing merchandize on credit, and handing it over to some importunate creditor,—obtaining an advance of cash upon it to meet his present wants, or disposing of it immediately for cash, at such rate, as to convince a jury of the fraudulent object for which the goods were originally purchased."—*Remarks on Trade and Credit*, p. 40.

† These shop-fronts, as well as the stock within, are frequently provided for by borrowed capital. Many of the handsomest shop-fronts are said to be rented, and to be regularly demised by a landlord, distinct from the house: the landlord of them being the firm of

to take his place in the higher course of competition,—he may succeed for a time, or he may not, before some

some plate-glass warehouse. The lenders of the purchase money of the stock in trade, are said to be in the practice of taking a warrant of attorney to enter up judgment; which enables them to sweep off every thing, if matters begin to go wrong, to the sacrifice of all the other creditors. This is their security under so great a risk. Some noblemen, as well as other great capitalists, are said to have large sums of money so invested.

The subject of trading with borrowed capital is one of enormous extent and effect, in promoting all the evils alluded to in the text. The system of renting the stock and money with which a man trades, as well as the land or house in which he carries on his concerns,—so that a man may carry on the most extensive transactions, having nothing of his own,—is comparatively new in the history of commerce. But the system goes farther than this. A man may rent and borrow money which is altogether fictitious, and which does not exist. As I do not mean to pursue this investigation at length, I will merely quote some passages from a recent pamphlet upon the subject.

The author says, “To what primary cause are these periodical panics to be attributed? We reply, at once, to overtrading solely; to the overtrading of all classes, whether traders of property, or persons who possess nothing—to the principle and facility of credit—and last, though not least, to that vile system which gives currency to credit, and creates a feverish circulation, upon a rotten foundation;—we allude to the ‘bill system.’

“As a partial confirmation of this conjecture, we will state a fact, upon which perfect reliance can be placed. Sometime since, nine bills of exchange, all dated within a short period the one of the other, and each bill for an amount at or about 2000*l.* were sent into the city to be discounted. The bills were drawn A. upon B.; B. upon C.; C. upon D.; and so on; but not two bills out of the nine had the same drawer and acceptor. They came by degrees under the inspection of an individual who felt a curiosity in ascertaining their history; and the more so as the parties, whose names were attached to them, were all respectable, and in fair credit. The curiosity of the individual alluded to was gratified. He ascertained that a quantity of goods, of the original value of something short of 2000*l.*, was the basis of the trans-

new scheme of attraction requires a fresh outlay ;—but the nine chances to one are, that, before this, he is sold off, and completely ruined.

action. A. had sold them to B., and drawn upon him for the amount ; B. had sold them to C., for a small profit, and had drawn upon C. for the amount ; C. had sold them to D., and in like manner passed a bill upon his purchaser ; and so on through the list. Here then was a *bonâ fide* circulation to the extent of 18,000*l.*, based upon the actual existence of property to the extent of 2000*l.* only ! Bills to the extent of 18,000*l.* were thrown into circulation, of which 2000*l.* were the representatives of goods, and the remaining 16,000*l.* were the representatives of—nothing !

“ In this instance, which we admit was an extreme one, there was no suspicion that the sales were fictitious, and merely made to obtain acceptances ; though it is clear, from the desire that each individual showed to discount the bill he had drawn, that he was trading to an extent far above his means ; in fact, over-trading in the fullest sense of the term.

“ It is a system which unfortunately pervades, but in too great a degree, almost every important branch of British commerce ; the object being, not unfrequently, merely to raise money, and the effect at all times equally pernicious.

“ These drafts are drawn and discounted for the purpose of raising money to pay for *other acceptances* in previous transactions *falling now due* ; and thus the wheel of the overtrader is kept continually in motion, his credit finding a capital, until, &c.

“ In some instances there is an intermediate buyer, or jobber, as he is called, by whose assistance the number of bills is augmented.” “ Fortunately, the number of these intermediate purchasers is now very limited.”

“ Is it not clear that by this mode, the needy and overtrading manufacturer has the means given to him of inundating the country with a superfluity of cloth, to the manifest injury of his more solid and prudent neighbour ?

“ We can affirm, upon the testimony of one of these brokers, the fact of his having granted such assistance prior to the moment of his sale, with the sole object, as he himself stated, of enabling his sale to ‘ go off well,’ that is, of increasing the competition amongst the buyers,

So all shopkeeping is rising to a more artificial scale, and profits are falling to a more and more unprofitable

so as to force up the prices from a half-penny to a penny per pound higher than the wools would otherwise have realized.

“ Let the corn-dealer, the silk-merchant, the metal-dealer, the cheesemonger, the provision-dealer, the manufacturer in every branch, review the mode in which our remarks apply to the particular branch of trade in which he is engaged ; he will find no difficulty in satisfying himself that there is overtrading in all branches, to an alarming extent, that there are people, with little or no capital, carrying on large business, manufacturers starting up, in some cases with their whole capital invested in machinery, and, in others, without any capital at all, hiring and paying a rent for the factory and its contents;—all issuing bills, drawing and accepting, and absolutely existing only upon the credit attached to such paper.”—*Remarks on Trade and Credit*, London, Effingham Wilson, pp. 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 23.

The same author observes that, formerly, no such thing was known as a bill drawn by one party upon another, both residing in the same town, the only object of which can be to “ gain time.” The chief bills in use used to be foreign bills. “ We can remember the period when even no mercantile firm of respectability in a country town would have dreamt of drawing a bill upon his country customer for goods sold.”

The continental merchants in general are where we were, and have not yet learned of us our modern practices. “ Let us turn our attention for one moment to the mercantile affairs of the continent. To what part can we look for ‘ feverish excitement and distress,’ during the last twenty years, to the extent which has existed in Great Britain. To no part.”

“ If we look to the manufacturing districts of Germany, we find a degree of sober, methodical and plodding steadiness, totally opposed to our ‘ go-a-head’ system at home.” “ He purchases his raw material with cash, or upon a small open credit only.” “ If sales of his fabric flag, he cautiously diminishes his production ; if trade improve, and his goods are demanded, he increases, according to the demand, to the extent of which his manufactory is capable ; but he is not deceived by the excitement of the hour into an increase of his factory-

level. The expenses of setting up and keeping up a trade are increased, while profits are diminishing. Even the large houses can only just bear these great expenses, and succeed through their very extensive custom. But as other houses are becoming large, and are entering into this competition, the monopoly of custom must

He adds no new wing—furnishing it, upon credit, with machinery and a steam-engine, and crippling his means for carrying on even the former amount of his business. Still less is he seduced, by a temporary demand for goods, to build new mills and factories, filling the surrounding country with steam engines and chimneys, all smoking and burning on credit, and he, all the while, dreaming that the existing demand for goods is never to be supplied.

“ If we review the mercantile system of Germany, we find a stated number of commercial cities, upon the inhabitants of which bills can be negociated.” “ Moreover, bills drawn by one party upon another—both residing in one of those towns—are not regarded with favour.”

“ Does any one suppose, that because in Germany credits are less freely given, and bills looked upon as dangerous instruments, trade is necessarily hampered? Let them proceed to the large cities, Berlin, Hamburg, Leipsic, &c., and witness the immense purchases of goods, of corn, coffee, sugar, wool, cotton, &c. made for cash,—not cash with a month ‘ prompt,’ but cash paid within twenty-four hours after the delivery of the goods. Here then is the secret by which the continent escapes those ‘ rapid and feverish alternations of excitement and distress.’ ”

“ ‘ Quick returns and small profits’ is an excellent maxim where hard cash is the medium of payment; but it has been unfortunately applied to transactions with the essential part extracted.”—*Remarks on Trade and Credit*, pp. 27, 28, 29, 30, 33.

The Dutch merchant lives on the banks of the canal, and sees from his counting house the masts of his ships ranged before his windows. The same used to be the practice of the merchants of Venice. The merchant stuck to his merchandize, which was as much as he could manage; and he was not a dealer in bills.

In this mercantile country we are losing our knowledge of some of the first principles of trading. I say this most advisedly.

fall away from each, and be again distributed, or continually changing from place to place with the fashion; and so the greater number even of the large houses must fail, which do not make a fortune in the first two or three seasons. But in a short time some new expense is introduced,—the competing invention of some one trying a fresh mode of attraction; and this at length becomes imperative upon all, and is a fresh additional charge imposed upon the profits of trade in general.

We are quickly approaching towards that stage at which the expenses of trade,—the whole expenses of a trade, taking the aggregate of those engaged in it,—will exceed its whole profits.—And then those who thrive in it must thrive only upon the ruin of others.

The use of Joint Stock Companies tends to the diminution of profits. The principle of that system is, the multiplication of customers, by engaging the interests of a large proprietary; and the economizing of labour, by a few agents and directors doing the work of the many shareholders: the rest being dormant partners. Therefore, profits, which are the wages of labour and character, must diminish. But the risk is proportionally increased; as is shown by the daily examples of loss and fraud, which present themselves. Thus the profits of the whole trade are diminished, both by falling prices and by losses; and the Joint Stock Companies have the greater portion of them. They must ruin the private tradesman. But, when Joint Stock Companies become general, those which now exist cannot maintain this monopoly of customers; and the diminished profits will not compensate them. So then, they must first ruin

the private trader, and then they must ruin themselves. Are we not losing our knowledge, in this trading country, of some of the first principles of trading?

Yet the whole policy of government and of politicians has been to lower profits, and to increase the necessity which is hastening on these evils. The scheme is, to live rather by many profits than good ones;—by cheapness rather than by the quality of the article. The same system which is going on among the manufacturers, merchants and tradesmen, is extended also to labourers:—the minimum price is to be given for their work. The government have been aiding this, not only by their theories and example, but also by setting the value of services low, whenever salaries and payments are fixed by act of parliament; and also by permitting Sunday labour, and extending the hours and means of business,—as by two post deliveries in one day.

The effect of Sunday labour, and late hours of business, is not so much to increase the quantity of work done, as to lower the price of labour. A workman is paid no more for seven days' labour in the week, than for six, as appears from those trades in which it is practised. This is so much in the nature of things, that in places which the poor frequent, if a lodger occupies his bed for the six days, on the seventh day, Sunday, it is given to him for nothing. This would not continue to be the custom, if working on Sunday were to become the general practice. Clerks and shopboys are not paid more, now that the hours of business are increased, and though more work is now done in a given time. But the quality of the labour, as

well as the quality of goods, must be deteriorated by this increase of quantity; and much more effective services might be rendered in all departments, through proper retirement and relaxation. Piranelli, who keeps some thousands of horses in Ireland, for all kinds of vehicles, gave in evidence before the House of Commons, that he never employed his horses on Sunday, except for the government mails; because a horse could do more in six days than in seven. If he worked six days in the week, he could do eight miles a day, equal to forty-eight miles in the week; if he worked seven days, he could only do six miles a day, equal to forty-two. And no doubt, if we would abstract ourselves entirely from business on Sundays, even our thoughts and conversation, we should do nearly as much business in the six days, as we can do by applying part of our labour and thoughts during the seventh day,—and do it much more effectively.

But this is the system with regard to labour, as it is with regard to wares and merchandize, to increase the quantity and the cheapness,—at the expense of the goodness. We hope to obtain the trade of foreign nations by the cheapness of our articles. This is a race in which we are sure to be beat. The quality is made a secondary consideration. We can teach foreigners to manufacture bad articles easily, and as fast as ourselves; they could not so readily learn to make them of the first quality. There was a time when English goods were characterized chiefly by their excellence; and English trading by its integrity. The endeavour now is to characterize and recommend them by cheapness:—and this

is to be at the sacrifice of goodness, in both these respects. "*Cheap and bad*" is now the characteristic of all kinds of manufactures and merchandize. There was the time when foreigners would have some English goods at whatever cost, and in breach of whatever fiscal and commercial laws, on account of their excellence.* The time seems to be coming, when from grasping at what is inordinate, by unworthy means, we shall lose what we have got; and our goods will be scouted from every market for their worthlessness, as our merchants for their want of faith. English goods ought to be esteemed, throughout the world, for their quality, not their cheapness; and English merchants, not for their wealth and activity and avarice, but for their honour and credit.†

* Napoleon's army in Germany was supplied and clothed with English manufactures, in breach of his own Berlin decrees.

† A naval officer relates, that he saw a consignment of muskets and other arms opened, which had been ordered from England by an African king. When examined, they were so badly made, and so utterly useless, that they were at once refused and sent back again. The goods had been shipped by a mercantile house of high character, and were made at Birmingham.

A friend informs me, that while he was resident in Madeira, all the English crockery that was imported was what is called wasters, that is, crooked, mishapen and imperfect pieces; such as are set aside as unfit for the regular market.

The Duke of Wellington makes complaint, in his despatches, of the dishonesty of English contractors. He says, "The truth is, that English tradesmen, particularly contractors, are become so dishonest, that no reliance can be placed on any work, particularly in iron, done by any contract. I have the same complaint of some carts made for the commissariat; eighteen out of twenty-five of which broke on a good road, without loads, in eighty miles."—*Freneda*, 11th May, 1813.

Six or seven years ago, some consignments of bad Sheffield goods,

But ruin and demoralization go hand in hand, for the the reasons above given, and for others which will be added. As the cheapness and bad quality of goods must go on together inseparably, so the low character of the goods and tradesman must progress together, and be inseparable. And the character and disposition of the customers partakes of, and gives cause and countenance to the same system; so that the disorder and demoralization of all society goes on as one operation.

We do not employ the tradesmen in our own neighbourhood, and make ourselves acquainted with them; and continue our custom to them for acquaintance sake. Neither do we choose them for their personal character, and depend upon them and remain with them on this ground; and make character and integrity our security, and so call for and encourage it. But we are easily led to change our tradesmen for some trifling reason, from fancy and caprice; or because the best fashion is no longer there; or because we are attracted by an elegant window. In this manner we encourage character less, while there are greater and greater temptations invading it; and so the only refuge of the tradesman is the advertizing attractions, and other tricks and inventions, by which those thrive who pander best to the cloyed and morbid appetites of the fickle consumers. No one can reckon upon a steady custom and

having the name of a first-rate maker forged upon them, destroyed the character of English cutlery in America. Most naval men can give accounts of the miserable quality of the goods consigned to the colonies and foreign markets.

It was during the late war that this system made its first great and rapid strides; though it had begun and been noticed at an earlier period.

established connection for more than two or three years ; and so all must resort to those speculative contrivances, by which all cannot live, but by which a favoured few may make large fortunes in a few seasons, and by which the greater number of the competitors in the same speculation must be ruined.

The fickleness of fashion requires a constant change ; and therefore nothing need be made substantial and lasting. Outside appearance is the desire of the general customers ; therefore appearance and outside show are the qualities chiefly aimed at and supplied ; and solidity is disregarded.* Good quality and substance are dispensed with, while at the same time they are more than the manufacturer can afford ; and so he is left and tempted to practise all those arts of deception and cunning which are of kin to outside show, and encouraged by the love of appearance.†

* Exs.—Paper, linens, cottons, toys, furniture, house-building. Winter-felled oak will hardly fetch more than spring-felled timber, though it is at least three times as durable.

Loaf sugar refined from West India sugar fetches no higher price than that refined from East India sugar : because its appearance is the same, though its sweetness is much greater.

† The habits of the Quakers are contrary to what is here described ; and they are among the most successful in trade. They very seldom fail in business ; and at the same time seldom make large fortunes. They are really tradesmen. Their practice in trade is this,—they keep the best articles, and only the best ; and charge high prices for them. Their articles are known and depended upon for their goodness, not for their cheapness. We do not see articles ticketed with the price, or bills advertizing cheap goods, in their windows. They thrive in trade, and continue it steadily during their lives. They do not speculate in a large way, or in new and dangerous undertakings ; and so they neither are frequently ruined, nor become suddenly rich.

The selfish economy also of purchasers,—even the richest,—who desire to have the greatest possible amount and magnificence of goods at the least possible price; that is, the utmost extent of style and luxury that is within the limits of their fortune,—whereby parsimony intimately allies and unites itself with extravagance,—obliges tradesmen to persuasion and puffing, and to two prices for the same class of customers, according to what they will give, and to all other kinds of shifts and inventions. It is the duty of rich people to give liberal prices, and to keep up profits, and to endeavour that their tradesmen should live by them comfortably. Oh! but, says avarice, economy, vanity, selfishness, and political economy, by saving our money we extend our custom wider, and are enabled to purchase more things, and so more workmen are employed, and more shops encouraged. What is the use of multiplying misery? What is the use that multitudes should live by us, if none can live happily or honestly?

It is the duty of every man to live so well within his income, and so to keep down his establishment and style, that he should be able to pay liberally for what he has. It is better that a few tradesmen should make good profits, upon a moderate extent of custom, than that many should make an insufficient profit, and be groaning under the evils of it.

There is a strange opinion now-a-days abroad among politicians, that public riches and prosperity can consist with private misery and ruin. When the trading world are making as a body hardly any profits, we boast of the vast increase of national wealth and public pro-

sperity. Are we to learn that the public happiness and wealth is the sum of the private? Are we to be told that the nation is happy, when the countenance of every rich man we meet is care,—of every poor man is agony? Are we to be told that the nation is rich and prosperous, when five-sixths of the trading world are struggling against difficulties and debts, and the threats of prospective ruin, and of the rest a half only are able to maintain their station respectably and comfortably?

This is a problem too deep for modern philosophy, and philosophical patience. No scheme of society can be comprehended or read that does not reduce itself to a few dogmas, or a few figures. Men are wonderfully successful by a few such processes and steps, which they call deep, and a few partial and biassed demonstrations, which they call reasoning, in blinding their eyes to facts, and persuading themselves against their senses. It is a simple fact, that people have less to spare now than ever they had; and that they are more unable and unwilling to bear the public burdens than ever, and to raise the necessary revenue.

This leads us to an important consideration, respecting the advance of indulgence, and the increase of riches, and the march of prosperity and civilization.

A luxury long indulged in becomes a necessary. The number of necessary comforts and indulgences is one of the evidences which we use, of our prosperity and civilization. At the same time the profits of trade and the wages of labour decrease, much more than in proportion to the decrease of prices of the several com-

forts with which we feel it necessary to indulge ourselves. Expenses increase, while means diminish. People therefore live much more generally to the full extent of their income than they did ; or even beyond it. Profits are not greater, nor clerks' salaries higher ; yet merchants and even clerks must live at the best parts of the town, and pay for their coach-hire to get there. Travelling, through habit, is now become a necessary of life. The quantity and elegance of furniture is in the same way increased ; the use of stoves in houses as well as churches. Of the same kind are the expensive security of an organized police ; the gas-lighting ; the macadamized streets ; the expensive shop-fronts, and the wood-paving. All these, and every new luxurious improvement, will soon be required by every body. I have observed with conviction a growing determination to have luxuries, with an increasing indisposition and inability to pay for them. As one example, I may mention a country town where a water company was established. If the water was laid on to a cottage, the rent of the cottage fell by the amount of the water-rate : though the whole benefit was to the cottager, who before fetched his water contentedly from a considerable distance. This fall of rents was general ; and many tenants lost their 10*l.* franchise, which they had formerly possessed, by reason of it. In the same town, those parts of it which are within the benefit of the local Improvement Act, which gives them the advantage of lighting and paving, and other benefits, produce lower rents for the same quality of house ; and the value is greatest of the property which

is beyond the reach of those advantages. So property may lose its value by the very improvement of it. And this operation is going on to a great extent throughout the country. Property falls in value in proportion to the burdens upon it, without respect to the comforts and luxuries and advantages of it; which luxuries however are being required, and becoming necessities.

Now this must diminish the available riches of a country, without a correspondent advantage. A country may by this process grow richer, and yet have less to spare: may become poorer in fact at the same time, in spite of it. People are unwilling to part with what they feel to be the necessities of life; and they cannot be taken away from them without oppression.* If a country were heavily taxed, each person would have less to spend upon himself, and he would be in effect poorer. If what he might thus have paid in taxes be already absorbed in the ordinary expenses of life, and all these expenses are necessities,—he is in like manner poor; and he has less to expend upon the exigencies of the country, or in novel indulgences. I say, therefore, that he is poor;—and a whole country which is in this state is poor also: in spite of any increase

* Nothing is more common than in a great town to find a family in beggary paying half-a-crown a week and more for their lodging. I find such persons occupying houses more comfortable, and with better furniture, than were used in the reigns of the first Henrys by the owner of a knight's fee. Poor persons come for relief in handsome clothes; and these are necessary to them. The pauper's dress given in a work-house is as good as was worn by a yeoman not two centuries back. In the Isle of Man all the people have enough, and to spare; but their style of living would be called miserable in this country.

whatever in its riches;—and that there is no corresponding increase of happiness to the nation or to the individual in consequence of it.* A man enjoys his champagne no more now than Falstaff did his sack; his carpets no more than Wolsey his clean rushes; his rosewood no more than his walnut or his mahogany furniture, each in their turn; his hounds than his hawks; his new carriage than his stately horse; his modern velvet than his ancient plush; his coal-gas than his whale-oil; his porcelain salvers than his pewter dishes, or his wooden trenchers.

The people, then, are no happier; and the country is poorer. With the increase of riches, the love of them increases; our unwillingness therefore to part with them; and the desire to spend the whole of them upon ourselves. Parsimony goes with riches; and cheapness and saving are required in every thing, in order that we may get the greatest possible amount of gratification for our money. Therefore our charity, our hospitality, our religious establishment, are cut short. If the people are grudging towards religion, do the governments suppose that they will be liberal towards the state? These things cannot consist. The necessary resources must be grudged and ill-paid: on account of our great riches. It is notorious that, in spite of the acknow-

* The new police is a heavy tax upon the property of the country, which can never be relieved from it; and the country is poorer pro tanto. The rates for the building of the new union workhouses, the paving and lighting and highway rates, the sewers' rates, the new education rate, as well as the national debt, are mortgages of the income of the country, and cannot be paid if there are no profits.

ledged very great increase of our wealth and capital, our revenue is more grudgingly paid and less easily raised than before this increase, and while the taxes were more numerous. What rich and luxurious nation ever made a good stand against a foreign army, or foreign money. The richer and richer we are growing, the smaller and smaller the sum for which we should sell ourselves.*

Let a man try, and he will find, that the man is rich who lives somewhat below his income:—that he is happy, as regards the enjoyment of money, who has so much to spare, that he can be indulging from time to time in something new, and some occasional luxury. It is the same thing with the state. The country is rich and at ease, and fruitful in its resources, not which spends somewhat less than its actual revenue, but whose people in general live frugally, and within their incomes;—and that nation is poor, and in jeopardy, which, hav-

* “ Thus fares the land by luxury betrayed,
In nature’s simplest charms at first arrayed;
But verging to decline, its splendors rise,
Its vistas strike, its palaces surprise;
While scourged by famine from the smiling land,
The mournful peasant leads his humble band;
And while he sinks, without one arm to save,
The country blooms—a garden, and a grave.

“ Ye friends to truth, ye statesmen who survey
The rich man’s joys increase, the poor’s decay,
’Tis your’s to judge how wide the limits stand,
Between a splendid and a happy land.”

Deserted Village.

ing the greater part of its revenue pledged to pay the interest of an overwhelming debt, and whose people requiring their whole, and more than their whole incomes to support their necessary expenses, and having their land deeply mortgaged, and being for the most part in debt, and at the same time being demoralized and debased by their luxurious living, and immersed in selfishness, would more readily sacrifice their credit and character than their habitual indulgences; and in a time of sudden calamity, expense, and depression, would refuse to raise and pay the necessary taxes, and the interest of their national debt, rather than relinquish a portion of their luxurious establishments. This is one of the steps in England towards national bankruptcy.

It may be said that all this is because it is an old country.—That it is not the fault of the system; but that these are necessary evils and diseases, which must arise, when a populous country has become highly civilized. The fault is entirely in the system, which has indeed become ripe and rank, and not at all in the necessities of time and age apart from these inherent evils. The same evil is found wherever the same system and principles prevail; in the new as in the old world. The following is one account of the state of the mercantile world in the United States of America.—

“The history of whole streets in our mercantile cities is but a record of the rise and the downfall of their occupants. It is a melancholy reflection that such are the uncertainties attendant on commerce, and on mercantile affairs generally, that every six or seven years

witness a complete revolution in the mercantile class of the community.”*

Neither is this confined, in the new world, to America. The same thing occurs from time to time, and is now existing to a great extent, in the recent colony of Sydney. The zeal and extravagance of over-trading, and inordinate speculation and competition, have brought that colony nearly to a state of bankruptcy. And this same operation must extend, and these effects and consequences must be felt, wherever the system of English trading shall extend and prevail; and that is everywhere.

All this is irrespective of the growth and increase of machinery; which has swallowed up and destroyed the fine trade and manufacture of India, and reduced a population more vast than our own manufacturing population to misery. This it has done in like manner in other places. And this it must do all over the world; till it shall swallow up and monopolize trade and handicraft over the whole face of the globe;—and then it shall swallow up itself.

For England seems destined to prevail over all the nations of the globe, and to bring them down by a blind and adventitious strength:—and to bring them down upon her own head. They will voluntarily submit to her, and fornicate with her, while she has any beauty remaining in her; but in her age and decrepitude they will forsake her, and hate her, and strip her, and make her naked, and outcast and desolate.

* Flushing Silk Journal, quoted Morning Herald, February 6, 1840. These things have since become worse in that country.

Selfishness and self-love, instead of leading us, as we are taught, to our best interests, can only lead us to turn every man his hand against his brother, and afterwards against himself. Self-love and avarice will blind us to our own true interests: will lead and impel us to turn our hands, first against each other, and then against our own throats.

ESSAY XIII.

ENGLAND IS SOWING THE PRINCIPLES OF EVIL IN THE WORLD.

PRESENT IMPROVEMENT FALLACIOUS—ENGLAND PERFECTS THE INVENTIONS OF OTHER NATIONS—ENGLAND THE EXAMPLE TO OTHER NATIONS—IS REVIVING THE PRINCIPLES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—THE COMMERCIAL PRINCIPLE—THE POWER OF MONEY—THE PREROGATIVE OF TRADE—FRATERNITY OF TRADE AND MISSIONS—CIVILIZE FIRST THEN CHRISTIANIZE—THE MISSIONARY WILLIAMS—THE CONTACT OF CIVILIZATION AND BARBARISM IS EXTERMINATING—COMMERCIAL BARBARISM—TYRANNY OF COMMERCE.

LET us not deceive ourselves into a confidence that things are materially altered by the recent change in political arrangements. It may lead to such an alteration. God speed and give fulfilment to the hope! But while the elements still exist which corrupt the system, and are growing in number and activity: while the season is approaching in which storms may be expected, and many signs prognosticate it, we ought not to be deceived into an expectation of settled weather, by a single gleam of sunshine. When the rain is falling all around us,—and still more when we are enveloped in a mist or mountain cloud,—we cannot bring ourselves to be-

lieve that the weather may clear up in the next hour, or that the prospect can be worth waiting for:—in a moment the sun bursts out, and the cloud passes away; and it is a wonder how we had been so foolish and faint hearted. When the early morning is bright and hot, and the sky is clear and cloudless, it deceives even our own knowledge, and silences with hope and delight our abundant experience, that such a sunshine may turn to rain in one half hour; nay, that it is a probable sign of it.

The saddest seasons of misfortune and the greatest reverses in life have such sunshines. It is so with nations and individuals. It is so with the most fatal diseases. It is not for the physician to be deceived and elated by such signs; they are rather occasions with him for increased anxiety and warning. The present revulsion of public feeling may lead to improvement and healthy habit; but a change of physician is not yet a change of medicine and diet; and still less a cure of the complaint. The disease is deep-seated. We must see, as well as hear talked of, a diminution, instead of an increase of the largest armies which ever existed, together with proposals for fortifying the frontiers of each nation, and the maintaining a universal war system and war spirit in the time of peace. We must cease to see the practices and the spirit of war, concurring with the praises and professions of peace. We must not only see a change of administration in the highest offices, but a diminished number of unbelievers in all the subordinate departments, and a diminished influence of money-worshippers and political adventurers;

all which together of late practically governed the country, and pulled the strings of the administration, who were but the puppets upon the stage. We must look to see what is the end of the temperance societies; and whether, when they decline, they shall give place to something which is worse or better, and whether, having superseded religious obligations in their creation, they shall not in their abolition carry both belief and practice down with them in one general destruction. We must look to see the event for increase or diminution of the national debt. We must look to see luxury and ambition less esteemed; the riches of the country and of the people less applauded; the poor better regarded and befriended, and more familiarized with their employers. The religious establishment, not the churches only, must be more equal to the wants of the people; a greater harmony must exist, religious and political; party-spirit must diminish; the children must be less hungry for want of spiritual and temporal food; and the parents and pastors must be more brotherly. When these things exist and grow, and show a confirmed tendency to re-establish themselves, then we may hail and welcome the approach of better things, and cease from fears and forebodings, and exchange warning for congratulation.

It is not consistent with our present object to dwell principally upon the condition and progress of other countries. But all nations of Europe and their colonies are advancing together, in the same direction; and this assimilation is growing greater and greater continually. All nations, at this period of free and rapid intercourse,

produce an impression one upon another. But the question for ourselves is, the extent of the impression which we are producing upon the world by our character and example; and whether it be good or bad. It is likely that England should become the predominating influence in the world: if she have not already assumed and occupied such a position. It is to be feared that this influence will be exercised more for evil than for good.

The position which England holds by virtue of her natural character is very peculiar. She is seldom the inventor and originator of new systems and principles; but she is eminently qualified to complete, and carry out the inventions of others. She has the power, and skill, and steadiness, and perseverance, to mature and perfect, and give practical application and extension to what she approves and finds useful. England did not begin the Reformation, but she always, from the beginning, and at the last, gave the most practical form and the most forcible effect to those principles of it which she adopted. England did not invent the art of modern warfare: but she has carried it into the most successful operation. Her best models of ships, during the late war, were taken from her enemies, being of French construction; but she manned and used them with irresistible effect against the navies of the nation which had furnished them. The English were not the first, or till of late the best inventors of machinery; but they are always the best makers of machines. The English are not the originators of manufactures and commerce; but they have long since carried them to a greater extent and dominion than Venice, Spain, or

Holland,—which they have swallowed up in the vortex of their practical energy and perseverance. They are not the originators of political economy; but they promise fair to give to this science of money, and to the art of money-making, a completion and perfection which it has nowhere attained, and a dignity and authority which shall be above all other law, or obligation or worship. England has promoted and perfected many good principles, through her wisdom and perseverance, and prevailed by means of them. If she have the dominion, and, in her elevation and hour of temptation, choose evil for her good, it is to be expected that she will carry it on to a height and strength which will be invincible except by divine judgment. England will then be the leavening evil principle in the world.

It is to be feared that England has already justified by her measured and cautious use, and promoted by her success, several evil principles, which are now being imitated and carried to an immoderate excess by other countries, which have taken the pattern from her. The spoliation of Church property was first carried to a great extent in this country; and the same proceeding has since been carried on, in France, in Switzerland, in Spain and Portugal, in Italy, and even in Rome itself.

The system of poor-laws, in lieu of, and in restraint of charity,—which is rather the sign of a great evil, of which it is the ineffectual remedy, than the evil itself,—has extended from this to other countries, together with the evils in which it originates.

The spirit of party, and the plan of opposition to government, is thought to have worked so well here,

that it has become the desire of foreign legislators, to secure their constitutions by the balance of opposition and faction.

England, though late, is now about to become the champion of education, and the chief dresser and cultivator of the tree of knowledge in the world.

England's rebellion has become the great model of rebellion and revolution which is aimed at by other countries; and is likely to be exceeded in every one of them.

What is more important and remarkable, having sowed the seeds of, and given the impulse and example to the French Revolution,—out of whose fresh-tilled and teeming soil sprung up fiercer monsters than the dragon himself from whose jaws the seed was extracted,—England now promises to cultivate, and bring up into approved perfection, these fresh offsets of human conceit and violence.

England is proceeding to carry out into practical operation all the leading principles of the French Revolution: those which had already, in that hot-bed, outgrown and exhausted themselves by their rankness. England has become the nurse of liberal opinions: in politics, in religion, in all departments of philosophy and opinion.

She has adopted the propagandism of the French Revolution; and shown her desire to proselyte other nations to her liberal opinions, by the sword as well as by example.*

* This was avowed by the late ministry; and especially and more directly by Lord Palmerston in his speech on Spanish affairs in 1835.

England is championing the doctrine of equality :—of the sovereignty of the people :—of the supremacy of reason,—which she is installing upon a loftier throne, and establishing upon a broader basis, than the popular vote and acclamation of an excited multitude. She is pregnant with new rational systems and theories of government and morals : by which she in like manner looks for the perfectibility of human nature, and the unlimited progress and amelioration and happiness of the whole human race. Christianity is here also becoming superseded. Unitarianism, Socialism, and Chartism, are at this time essential and characteristic in the English system; and they must continue to grow and gain strength, in these forms or some others, while the present temper and disposition of the people exists.

By another coincidence of principle, capital punishment was limited, at the Revolution, to a much smaller class of delinquencies.

An opposition to the ordained clergy, is established and organized. This is one of the most deep-rooted principles now subsisting. On the 4th of August, 1789, a commutation of tithes into a money payment was resolved on in the National Assembly. This was soon followed by their entire abolition. The insecurity which was felt for all property at that time, in France, has already nearly extended to all property in the nature of charitable trust or endowment in England. The number of bishops was reduced at the same time, and the chapters were abolished.

The unpopularity of the squirearchy, the invasions of their character and consequence, and the obloquy which

is cast upon all their habits and opinions, their honour and honesty, are of a pattern with the invasion of the privileges of the French noblesse; in the excess of which, the most indifferent habits and usages were transmuted into crimes, and all virtues and rights and advantages were alike forgotten. The same thing is being carried even a step further. The townspeople and shopkeepers of France abolished the privileges of the landed proprietors: — the manufacturers in England are not only bent upon doing away with the protections of agriculture, but they are claiming and obtaining for themselves exemptions and advantages, which must make them the privileged orders of this country.

Another obvious parallel to the French Revolution, is the eager desire and endeavours of the lately dominant and still agitating party, to plan out the country afresh by new boundaries and divisions, obliterating as much as possible the present ecclesiastical divisions and parishes, — the object of which is, to break up the old habits of association and fellowship, and with them the present habits and order of society; and particularly the local influence of the squires and the clergy.

But all desires and principles sink and become little, in comparison with the one object, *Commerce*, which is the acknowledged palladium of British greatness. This is not a plant of the same growth with liberty and infidelity: — though it has obtained an intimate association with them, through innumerable attachments of common purpose and interest. It is by infusing everywhere her own principles and practices in the pursuit of gain, in

subjection to the one approved passion of money-making, that England will chiefly, if it must be, corrupt the world, and infect it with its evil influence and example.

Internally, every public measure in England has a reference to finance. The Commons govern by the purse:—by bribery they are elected. Manufactures are by all means to be encouraged, and machinery praised, though the health and happiness and morality and religion of the people must be sacrificed to it; and even Sabbath observance may not be promoted to the interruption of trade. Money and money's worth is the measure of everything. In this country, "Poverty is a crime," as is said;—it is a virtue to be rich. Money will purchase and compensate everything. Money is the only measure and link. Paid officers are thought certain to be the best: setting aside education, station, manners, morals, public spirit, honour, integrity. Magistrates and officers used to be repaid by reverence; but this is now considered a coin not estimable or current. Landlords used to be paid by services and respect and influence; and these might vary according to goodwill, and desert, and character:—Now, all the whole right and claim is rendered in rent; and it is the same to be a good or a bad, a resident or an absentee landlord; and this rent is raised to the utmost possible amount, and is exacted rigorously, by a strict debtor and creditor account, and on the ledger system. If money is the universal standard of every thing, even honour and honesty must have its measure and limit; and it is reported of England, proverbially, that "Every man

has his price." * Thus England is moved and governed upon the one pervading principle of buying and selling, of payment and receipt, of money-making and merchandize.

This is the internal state and condition. But the present object is to show the impression which these principles are likely to make on other nations, if England rises to a still higher pre-eminence, and continues to extend her example and influence. She must carry her principles with her wherever she goes, and establish them wherever she exercises dominion. And if she is the most increasing in population, and the greatest colonizer, and the most successful of any in extending her empire by foreign aggression, it is obvious that she must have great success in propagating principles of action and opinion; and that these must be in agreement with her own principles. But the influence of Great Britain is greater than that of colonization or conquest; it is the influence of example and admiration. The pre-eminence which she has attained, and the power which she exercises, as an ally or an enemy, excites the wonder and envy of those who are subject to this influence; and impels them to adopt the same means and instruments which have contributed to erect so eminent a fabric. The moral force of England therefore, being

* Family names are lightly changed for money. It is reported that one gentleman answered to another's challenge, "When you have £20,000 to lose, as I have, then I will fight you." The open buying and selling of livings, at so many years' purchase of the offerings and tithes, is too significant to be passed over without mention: more need not be said of it.

made up of her extent, her power, her success, and her activity combined, is already enormous, and continually increases. It must be short-lived or lasting, in proportion as the good or the evil predominates in the composition, and is the most growing. My own fear is, that the predominant influence is already bad ; and that this character of it is on the increase ; and that eventually it will work its own ruin. Like all others who wage aggressive warfare upon false grounds, and with oppressive instruments of conquests, we shall teach our adversaries in the end to fight against us with success, and meet with destruction by our own weapons.

We have set example to other countries of national debts. They have been ready enough to adopt a vicious system, which has seemed to afford us such facilities and advantages. And now we are not only smarting under the effects of our own false economy and improvidence ; but having encouraged other nations in this vice, and become the chief lenders to their extravagance, we are meeting with the return which we have deserved, are cheated of our just demands by many of our creditors, and experience both loss and ridicule for our folly and avarice.* War is now, by our teaching and example, only a contest of money. Not only do national courage and character and patriotism give place to the national purse, the right arms and the hearts of oak to

* We have given such an impulse and extension to this system by our example, that the plan of borrowing money is adopted even by recently established countries, and newly founded colonies. This system which we have resorted to in our extremity, they have adopted in their first vigour and infancy.

the military chest, as instruments of warfare, but it is a contest not even of present means and resources, but of credit. War is carried on by mortgaging the future labour and energies of a country ; and the only struggle is, which nation will draw upon its own future energies and good faith most extravagantly. In this contest all must be ruined. But which country is likely to suffer most, and to fall first ? Surely that which is at the most artificial height of prosperity and riches, and which, in the equalizing progress of free and rapid intercourse, is least likely to maintain its unnatural elevation and superiority.

We have set the example of joint stock companies ; the rationale of which is, a system of trading by idle and sleeping partners : idle and useless like the fundholder ; and moreover ignorant of their business. This arises out of an idea that money can make money, and needs no personal wisdom or exertion. Money can not make money of itself ; and it increases and is profitable in proportion to the number and skill and labour of the persons occupied in using it. Hence the profits on large sums of money are never so great as those on small sums ; that is, money distributed among and employed by many hands. The Jewish law, in forbidding usury, or the simple increase of money, probably had respect to the idleness and unprofitableness that such a system tends to create ; and to the heavy tax which it imposes upon labour ; when so much out of its return is to be deducted and repaid for interest ; while at the same time profits are reduced by the practice of a few bor-

rowers or capitalists occupying themselves in the use of large sums of money.

All the policy and wisdom of Great Britain centres in commerce. Even government is a trade. Colonization is used for the purposes of commerce; and the only light in which a colony is regarded is that of being a market. Conquest is chiefly useful as making a market. The vast continent of India is placed at our disposal, and is so disposed by us as to be a great mart for our manufactures; and the force of our arms over it is not so great as that of our commerce, nor the conquest of the sword so complete as that of our manufactures, which have paralyzed and ruined the trade and wealth of that once industrious people. And further than this, we have handed over the sovereignty of this empire, and all its millions of people, to a mercantile company, to use it as a simple source of revenue, by which to pay the interest of their trading capital. Thus we are traders even in government. But this is not all. Even in the soil itself which is left to them, the produce especially protected and encouraged is the poison, opium; which in turn must be forced upon another country which is unwilling to receive it, for the sake of revenue and profit.

We claim a right to thrust our commerce even upon a nation which is backward to receive it. We claim this as a right under the law of nations. The law of nations is set up and used for the purposes of trade. We claim the right to thrust our manufactures and produce upon other countries and to obtain theirs in return, as a divine right; even though the consequence might

be the destruction of industry in China as in India. We assert the laws of God and nature for the purposes of commerce. We claim China as a market, as we do our own colonies. We use our colonies only as markets, and we want to make China in effect a colony of the British empire.

With the right to trade, must follow the right to introduce all those manners and habits which promote commercial intercourse. We glory therefore in the creation of desires and wants, and in the introduction, by our example, of all those habits of luxury, which we commend at home as encouraging manufacturing industry. This we call civilization. And having adopted this high-sounding, flattering term, for a representative of all our habits, and opinions and propensities, we go forth to spread it over the whole world, having money and commerce as our end, and our instrument.

We trade even in religion. Our missions are established and reported on as if conversion to Christianity depended upon the sums of money which are paid to the missionaries. So many pounds, so many expenses incurred, so many conversions. This is the balance-sheet. But this is not the whole statement and detail of the process. Commerce and Christianity go hand in hand, and leave this shore together, and plant themselves side by side wherever the one sets foot, in inseparable brotherhood. Wherever Christianity has planted itself by means of a missionary establishment from England, there follows English commerce in its train; and all the blessings of Christian truth are soon choked and overpowered by the corrupting force of traffic and

avarice. If a missionary station is formed, this is followed by a colony or a company. They enter into terms of offensive and defensive alliance. Soon the power of this world overtops the spiritual power; and the victims of our beneficence are made tenfold more corrupt and lost than they were before their intercourse with Christian England. Nay commerce is not unfrequently made the immediate instrument for proselyting, and is supposed to be the best and essential stepping-stone to conversion. "Civilize first," is the motto, "and then Christianize. Create wants. Give them a taste for luxuries. Make our produce and manufactures necessary to them by use, and then, together with our habits and manners, they will adopt our opinions and ideas, and will become Christianized." The accounts which are given of some of these proceedings are shocking; even those which have been given with applause and triumph by reverend and devoted and self-denying men. It seems as if the devil himself were making a mock of his own defeat, and leading his conquerors on, by an affected retreat, into a well-laid ambuscade, to the seducing notes of triumphant merriment and blasphemous exultation. The missionary Williams thus writes with approbation and triumph of the successful propagation of Christianity by means of our commodities and luxuries.

"Another speaker, with warmth and animation that produced great impression, said, 'Look at the chandeliers! Oro never taught us any thing like this! Look at our wives, in their gowns and their bonnets, and compare ourselves with the poor natives of Rurutu, when they were drifted to our island; and mark the

superiority. * * It is to the good name of Jesus that we are indebted. Then let us send his name to other lands, that others may enjoy the same benefits.”* Again, in another place:—

“ Perhaps the following most remarkable circumstance may have contributed in no small degree to induce the people thus speedily to embrace the truth. A heathen woman had, by some means or other, been conveyed from the island of Tahiti to Rarotenga ; and on her arrival she informed the Rarotengans of all the wonders she had seen. They had no need now to go down to the water to look at themselves, because these wonderful people had brought them small shining things, which they could carry about with them, and in which they could see themselves as plainly as they could see each other. These, with a variety of other ‘ *Mea tu ke* ’ or very strange things, which this heathen female told the astonished inhabitants of this secluded garden of the ocean, excited so much interest, that the king Makea called one of his children Jehovah, and another Jesus Christ. And the uncle of the king, who we hope is at this time a good man, erected an altar to Jehovah and Jesus Christ, and to it persons afflicted with all manner of diseases were brought to be healed ; and so great was the reputation that this Marae obtained, that the power of Jehovah and Jesus Christ became great in the estimation of the people.”†

“ The chief’s wife in particular awakened our sympathy, by stating that she had long wished to become a Christian, because when she compared herself with the Christian females, she was much ashamed ; for they

* Narrative, p. 46.

† Ibid. p. 107.

had bonnets and beautiful white garments, while she was dressed in ‘Satan’s clothes.’”*

On another occasion the same missionary writes,—

“Favea then specified some of the advantages which the inhabitants of those islands were deriving from the introduction of this new religion. Can the religion of these wonderful *Papalangis* be any thing but wise and good? Let us look at them, and then look at ourselves. Their heads are covered, while ours are exposed to the heat of the sun, and the wet of the rain; their bodies are covered all over with beautiful cloth, while we have nothing but a bandage of leaves round our waist; they have clothes upon their very feet, while ours are like the dogs’;—and then look at their axes, their scissors, and their other property, how rich they are. They all appeared to understand and appreciate this reasoning, and gazed on us with great interest and surprise.”†

It would have been just the same with the war-clubs and battle-axes, the brandy and scalping-knives, which I shall presently mention. Yet this most zealous and devoted missionary, who suffered death in prosecuting his mission of Christian civilization, uses no expression of alarm or warning in regard to these false grounds of conversion, or the possible abuse of luxury and finery to unchristianize the character, or of our Lord’s caution, that riches and the good things of this world render the entrance into the kingdom of heaven more difficult.

* Narrative, p. 258. About the same time that I first read this narrative, I had just heard an account from the pulpit of a penitent young woman, who on her death-bed declared that she was going to hell, and attributed it to her fine clothes,—to Satan’s clothes.

† Narrative, p. 329.

If the Jesuits had been aspiring to admiration, and establishing faith and confidence in their creed, by fictitious miracles, he would have quickly perceived and exposed the error, and have inveighed against the artifice. It is clear that the magicians of Egypt, the jugglers of China or Hindostan, the Phœnician and Carthagénian merchants, might each respectively have propagated their faith, and proselyted to their idolatries and abominations among such people, upon similar grounds, and with at least as great approbation and success.

The missionary was not more faithful and true in representing to them that, even upon his own approved principles of European economy and civilization, they were not likely to secure to themselves these objects of their covetousness and vanity by turning Christians, or the mere adoption of European wants and usages; for that they must earn these things by European industry and skill, and for this there must be a re-edification of society from the foundation, upon a totally different system, which they were incapable of:—and that those fine things that they already possessed were only gifts and bribes, or an exchange for mere trifles, and would not be repeated for ever, by a money-seeking people,—nay that they would prove their destruction.

For the ascertained effect of the contact of barbarism with European civilization, is misery and extermination to the former. There is no process of transmutation, or tendency to amalgamation going on and working, under this position of these two discordant elements, so as to change the one into the other, or permanently to

unite them, and so maintain the existence of the weaker under a new form and condition. It is the ascertained effect of European habits and manners, coming in contact with savage tribes, entirely to destroy and obliterate the baser element, and to blot it out from off the face of the earth. Formerly, the politic tyranny of conquerors in war led the subject nations captive, and in the condition of slaves gradually trained the people to their own habits and modes of life, supplying them with food and instruction in return for their obedience; and so increased their strength and enlarged their dominion, by an accession of industrious subjects. The considerate tenderness and liberality of commercial conquest now abjures the slow and degrading process of protection and slavery. The free and noble process of extermination is preferred, being more rapid and complete in its effect, and more consistent with the rights and interests of man, and the dignity of human nature.

War was the chief agent of intercourse and improvement in the world up to the new era. Now commerce is in its place, and is fulfilling the same purpose. The effect of the first was tyranny and oppression:—that of the last extermination. The motive of the first was ambition:—of the second avarice. The operation of the first was subjection and fear:—of the last corruption.

The contact of European civilization with natural and savage life,—under the form of commerce,—is described by travellers, but especially by Mr. Catlin, as tending to the certain corruption, degradation and annihilation of its victims, under the most brutalizing and

pitiable circumstances. The subsistence of these children of nature fails them: by the migration of the herds on which they depend for food; and by exhaustion of the animals, which they hunt after to extermination, to supply the demand of British commerce and luxury with their skins. The fine native virtues of these people, which are striking and admirable, but unlike anything European, fail at once; and give way to the worst infirmities, and the deepest degradation of character. All their own virtues and nobleness of mind and feeling are lost; and the vices only of the European character are caught by them, and rage among them with the virulence and acerbity of a deadly contagion. The European diseases, hitherto unknown to them, take possession of their constitutions, and are as a destroying angel among them. The two thousand Mandans, except forty, which were the whole that remained of this interesting tribe of North American Indians, were swept off at once by the small-pox. The remaining forty sunk soon after from other causes; and this tribe is now extinct. This is only one example of what is common.

These sad effects of civilization and commerce may obtain more pity than condemnation. The same cannot be said of what follows.

Mr. Catlin relates, that one means of progressive destruction which the North Indian tribes are using among themselves is their mutual wars: partly necessitated by their territory being encroached upon by English and American settlers. The instruments of these wars are chiefly furnished by the merchants, who

supply battle-axes and clubs and scalping knives by thousands and thousands, and every other instrument of destruction in use among them. Yet the countrymen of these civilized monsters, these traffickers in war and bloodshed, these traders in murder, even these traders themselves, do not cease to use the privilege of conquerors and destroyers, and to talk with civilized conceit, and affected loathing and delicacy, of the savage manners of these victims of their own blood-sucking avarice: of their own temptations and accusations. This is the very name and office of Satan himself—the tempter and the accuser. The English are avaricious even to blood. The British merchant murders by opium at one extremity of the globe, by knives and war-axes at the other. But no one may murder or fight, or wear his honours and trophies and orders, except in an English way: to do otherwise is brutality and barbarism. The scalp is a single lock of hair worn long on the back of the head, in certain countries, as the tail is in China; and the warrior invites his adversary to the attack, and to take his scalp as a sign of victory. The piece of skin which is taken off the head, and carries the whole scalp attached to it, is of a size not exceeding a crown-piece. “I have repeatedly,” says Mr. Catlin, “heard Europeans express the greatest disgust and horror at the cruel and savage practice of taking off these scalps, and keeping them as trophies of their victories,—but I never once heard any one express the slightest concern at the slaughter of thousands and thousands of the victims, and all the agonies of death which must precede this after ceremony.”

But the most effectual instrument of English trade and civilization, used for the destruction of the unlettered natives in all parts of the globe, is spirituous liquors. This engine of demoralization and degradation of the human character, not only below that of savages, but even of brutes, is employed with a vigour and a zeal and ingenuity which nothing but avarice could suggest, and a distress and disorganization of society, and destruction of body and mind, which nothing but the demon spirit of commerce could pander to, or bear to look upon. The subtlety and perseverance of the traders to introduce ardent spirits among the North American Indians, is compared to that of eagles and wolves; and their ravaging effects in like manner. "For whatever object a body of Indians is assembled, whether for peace, or war, or to listen to the doctrines of our revered religion, the traders, like wolves, come skulking around them, and, like eagles in the neighbourhood of a field of battle, they hover out of the reach of gun-shot, confident of the enjoyment of their prey." "The horrid system has not, we regret to say, shared the fate of those it has destroyed; on the contrary, every year it has become better organized, and from the subtlety of the traders it is now become more impossible than ever to be prevented."* In sum, "by the bayonet, by the diseases we bring among them, by the introduction of spirituous liquors, by our vices, and last though not least, by our proffered friendship, the work of destruction is still progressing" among the North American Indians.†

* Quarterly Review, No. 130, p. 406.

† Ibid. p. 385.

The use of ardent spirits, in like manner, in the Sandwich Islands, where so much has been boasted of in the introduction of Christianity, had gone to an extent which well nigh threatened the extinction of the natives. The queen of those islands has set an example to Europeans, by absolutely forbidding the introduction of any spirituous liquors whatsoever into her dominions.*

It is true that the English merchants may not be the immediate instruments in carrying on this work of evil in all places. But it is the example and influence of English commerce to which it is to be attributed. The principle is the same as that by which our merchants are forcing on their artificial system of trade, for evil or for good, for profit or for ruin, in all quarters of the globe; a principle which has never before been carried to the same extent of selfishness and shamefacedness, till England took the lead as the great commercial nation. And this is the accusation: that England is infusing an evil system and principle into the world by her example and influence; and what if some of her scholars exceed her in the enormity of her practices, and outwit her by her own inventions.

We shall see whether such a system must not precipitate its own ruin inevitably.

The trade of England is corrupted and ruined by its own success and vastness. It is so great beyond the occasion and the call for it in all markets, that excessive competition brings its profits and advantages to nothing, and ruins itself. This lowness of profits, so

* The Europeans were expelled from Cochin China because they introduced every kind of profligacy.

created, suggests to each merchant and manufacturer a still further production,—the only remedy for small returns being, to increase the number of them,—and so the evil, by seeking a cure for itself, only multiplies the causes of it; and our commerce perishes by a species of self-embarrassment, and mutual destruction, the very reward of over-success, and accumulation, and avarice. The convulsive struggle of competition thus growing more deep and desperate, and ever increasing by the violence and effects of its own exertions, justifies in their eyes the creating a market and profit, at whatever cost of conscience or character or principle, as of necessity, and for the very life's sake.*

The working of this process necessitates the endeavour to extend our dominion wider and wider, over all the markets of the inhabited world, and to create them for ourselves over the parts not yet inhabited. The ambition and tyranny of commerce is as great and grasping as that of any other invader and conqueror; and the endeavour after Universal Empire is as eager and insatiable in the golden Mammon as in the brazen Mars. This empire must be universal. No man may buy or sell save he that hath the mark or the name of the Beast, or the number of his name. British trade

* The occasional bursts of prosperity, and the enormous fortunes made by some few manufacturers and merchants, may seem to contradict this belief of the general depression of commerce by overtrading. But these occasions are but the fever-fits in the progress of a consumption; which ever advances its ravages by successive fits of weakness and strength, of depression and encouragement, which still become more marked, till suddenly brought to an end by the crisis and catastrophe.

has already once had the monopoly of the world ; and it must continually be striving to have it again. But the other nations will all oppose it ; and at length successfully.

Riches have been well compared to a heap of sand : hardly and slowly raised ; but easily dispersed and levelled by every motion and agitation. The commerce of Britain is such a heap ; raised to a much greater height and eminence than ever before, by the labour and success of ages. On the top of the height of this great work she stands, and says within herself, “ Is not this great Babylon that I have built by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty ? ” But, “ the kingdom is departed from thee.” She says in her heart, “ I sit a queen ; ” but, “ in one hour thy judgment is come.”

This empire of commerce is now the wonder and imitation of all the nations of Christendom. The kings of the earth give their power and strength and kingdom unto the Beast. If the picture of trade and commerce which has been given be faithful, the authority and power of this dominion must be corrupting and debasing. It is tyrannical and enslaving, as has also been described. Can the nations bear this monopoly of commerce, this insatiate encroachment of British manufactures in all their markets, and houses, and ovens and kneading-troughs and chambers ? Their jealousy and pride will resent and resist the humiliating yoke ; their stomachs will loathe the poison of the Circean cup, which they have drunk so eagerly and deeply to their own enslavement. Already the powers

of the continent are leaguering together to exclude the manufactures and merchandize of England : the instruments of her power : the collectors of her tribute. "They are all turning against her :"—as they before combined against Venice, in the league of Cambray and afterwards, to bring down her commercial pre-eminence ; till they effectually ruined her. "The ten horns which thou sawest shall hate the Whore, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire." "For strong is the Lord God who judgeth her."

"Oh thou that dwellest upon many waters, abundant in treasures, thine end is come, and the measure of thy covetousness."

"And the waters which thou sawest, where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues."

ESSAY XIV.

THE COMMERCIAL EMPIRE.

"MYSTERY! BABYLON THE GREAT : THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS, AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH."—REV. xvii. 5.

ARISTOTLE'S OPINION OF COMMERCE AND TRADE—OPINIONS OF OTHER WRITERS, SACRED AND PROFANE, MODERN AND ANCIENT, RESPECTING TRADE AND RICHES—GREAT RICHES AN EVIL TO INDIVIDUALS AND TO STATES—HISTORY OF THE DOMINION OF THE SEA—COMMERCIAL EMPIRES ALWAYS TYRANNICAL—MARITIME WARFARE MORE CRUEL THAN CONTINENTAL WARFARE—THE LAST WAR A WAR BETWEEN THE EMPIRES OF COMMERCE AND ARMS—THE ORDERS IN COUNCIL—THE COLONIAL SYSTEM—MANUFACTURING MONOPOLY—MACHINERY—POLITICAL ECONOMY—MONEY-WORSHIP, ITS PERPETUAL SACRIFICE.

TRADE and commerce have been spoken against by the wise men of all ages, as tending to corrupt the morals of nations and individuals ; and as the worst foundation upon which a nation can rest its strength. It has been always looked upon as tending, not to strength, but weakness. It was never considered either to produce good order or happiness ; but, on the contrary, destruction and misery. It has been left to this last age to uphold, for the first time, the opposite doctrine ; and there never has been a time in which, to depreciate the use of wealth, and its accumulation by traffic, has been so opposed to the general sense, and so thought to be absurd ; and so little has been spoken against it. This

is an age of national, not only individual avariciousness. The existence of the British empire is based upon its commercial riches; and other nations are desirous to be its imitators, and to follow in the same steps,—seeing it in appearance so successful in its results. We and they are resolved to put in proof again, and upon the widest scale, this great experiment; though contrary to all experience, and the precepts of wisdom in all ages, divine and human.

We might have found in our own Aristotle,—the author of our modern wisdom: the real founder of our political economy, of our theories of government, of our philosophy respecting the origin and nature of society, and the laws of nature and nations,—we might have found in him, among others, a caution against the course which we are pursuing, in direct defiance, as is wont, of our own master, and of the essential limits to the effects of his own teaching, which for its credit and safety he would have imposed. For the scholar is ever unequal to the master;—and he betrays the weak points of his master's plans and defences, by prosecuting his operations in the neighbourhood of the errors and fallible parts, disregarding those which gave the entire support to them.

The following passages from Aristotle's *Politics*, convey his sentiments with regard to commerce.

“Commerce indeed produces nothing; but it exchanges and distributes, as conveniency requires, the objects and commodities already produced and accumulated.”

“To real and natural riches bounds have always

been assigned ; since, like all other instruments, they are limited, both in magnitude and number, by the ends for which they serve, and the effects which they are intended to produce. But that factitious wealth, which is often confounded with them, is indeed boundless, and will appear necessarily to be so, when we have investigated its nature.*

“To get money is the business of the merchant ; with him wealth and money are synonymous ; and to heap up money is in his mind to acquire all worldly advantages. By several economical writers, this opinion of the merchant is treated with contempt, and considered as mere dotage. They deride, and rightly,” he adds, “the notion of that being the most substantial or only wealth which, to him who should accumulate it in the greatest quantity, would only realize the fable of Midas, and thereby expose him to the danger of perishing with hunger.”

“Of such factitious riches, the desire, as Solon said, must necessarily be boundless.”

“The merchant, if faithful to his principles, always employs his money reluctantly for any other purpose than that of augmenting itself. Yet political writers, deceived by an agreement in accidental pursuit and occasional application, confound the endless drudgery of commerce with the salutary duties of economy, and regard the accumulation of wealth as the main business of both. At the name of money, they recall all those deceitful enjoyments of pride and voluptuousness which

* Aristot. Polit. lib. i. c. 5.

money is fitted to procure, and in which wishing for ever immoderately to indulge, they cannot fail inordinately to desire that which promises to gratify their inordinate passions. If money is not to be obtained by (read, 'honest') traffic, the purpose for which it was first instituted, men thus minded will have recourse, for obtaining it, to other arts and other contrivances; prostituting even skill and courage, in this mean and mercenary service."

"But of all modes of accumulation, the worst and most unnatural is usury. This is the utmost corruption of artificial degeneracy, standing in the same relation to commerce, that commerce does to economy. By commerce, money is perverted from the purpose of exchange to that of gain; still, however, this gain is obtained by the mutual transfer of different objects; but usury, by transferring merely the same object from one hand to another, generates money from money; and the interest thus generated, is called "offspring," (*τοκος*), as being precisely of the same nature, and of the same specific substance, with that from which it proceeds."*

Lycurgus, we well know, expelled gold and silver out of the kingdom of Sparta, considering them to be the occasion and instruments of all crimes.† He required also that brides should bring no dowries to their husbands, in order that the men might seek for wives,

* Aristot. Polit. lib. i. cc. 6, 7. I have used Taylor's translation, which is free, but gives the spirit of the author; and also his division of chapters.

† "Omnium scelerum materiam." Justin. lib. iii. ap. Horat. Delph. Car. lib. iii. Od. 24.

not money.* And he drove all merchants, as well as sophists, poets, and pedlars, out of the country, as worthless fellows.†

Cicero says, “those who buy up goods from the merchant that they may immediately sell them again, are base and despicable men; for they can only make a profit by practising some deception.”‡

Horace, in like manner, says, that “nothing deters the merchant. The crafty seamen make themselves masters of the seas. The fear of poverty, which is a reproach in their eyes, impels them to do and to endure everything imaginable, and tempts them away from the inconvenient path of virtue.”§

To come to more recent authorities;—this is another description of commerce and trade, by an author of eminence and learning. “In the contest of buying and selling, it naturally becomes the habit for one party to overreach the other.” And again, “in buying and selling, it is conceded, that we must buy things for less than they are worth, and sell them for more than they are worth, and in so doing circumvent one another; and so it is allowed to be in letting and hiring.”||

Milner says of the Waldenses, in the 13th century, “They avoided commerce, that they might be free from falsehood and deceit.”¶ And again, in the 15th cen-

* “Ut uxores eligerentur, non pecuniæ.” Ib. ib.

† Plut. in Laco. ap. Lycosthen. Apophthegmata, tit. De Avaritia.

‡ Cic. de Off. lib. i.

§ Horat. Car. lib. iii. Od. 24.

|| Domat. Civ. L. l. 16, § Ff. de nim.; l. 22, ult. Ff. locat. v.; l. 8, De resc. vend.; Domat. Civ. L. i. 45.

¶ Milner's Ch. Hist. 13th cent. c. 3, quoted from Allix, p. 235.

tury, about the year 1647, the Hussites already found occasion to rebuke those very Waldenses, "because they were too solicitous in amassing wealth."* So soon are we corrupted, and so easily and entirely are we blinded by success and ease to our own first principles; which are clear enough to ourselves and to every one, till we are surrounded by the temptation and the example.

Our own history will be found to be exactly the same. As it was said by Apuleius of the Romans, that "Poverty was the foundation of their great empire;"† but afterwards its riches and venality were the cause of its destruction, when Jugurtha said of it, that "to complete its ruin, Rome only wanted a purchaser:"‡—so we, whose hardihood and strength were aforesaid fortified by simplicity of manners and contempt of riches, and engrafted these into our first principles, are now reviving and re-enacting the history of Rome again in this sense also, that we are rushing to our ruin, by placing our dependence on money, and not on moral strength. The disciples of our own first reformer, Wickliff, says Sancho Reinber, "followed no traffic, because it is attended with so much lying, swearing, and cheating."§

* Milner's Ch. Hist. c. 4.

† "Paupertas etiam populo Romano imperium fundavit." Apuleii Apolog. ap. Horat. Delph. lib. iii. Od. 24, not.

‡ Sallust de Bell. Jugurth. "Which," says Lycosthenes, in quoting the passage, "very shortly happened; and the Romans, hitherto invincible, were conquered solely by their avarice."

§ Milner's Ch. Hist. vol. iv. p. 202. Again, Cent. 15, c. 1, "The disciples of Wickliff are men of a serious, modest deportment, avoiding all ostentation in dress, mixing little with the busy world, and com-

But we, and other reformed nations, are now the most money-making and mercenary of all people and nations in the world, and beyond all other empires in ancient and modern times, have placed our national strength and dependence upon our riches and commerce.

We have still higher authority, if it be wanted, for condemnation of the tone of morals engendered by the spirit of traffic. "It is nought, it is nought, saith the buyer, and when he is gone his way, then he boasteth."* Thus far Solomon upon this subject. But the Son of Sirach speaks his opinion much more explicitly: "A merchant shall hardly keep himself from doing wrong; and an huckster shall not be free from sin. Many have sinned for a small matter; and he that seeketh for abundance will turn his eyes away. As a nail sticketh fast between the joinings of the stones, so doth sin stick close between buying and selling."† And again, "There is not a more wicked thing than a covetous man; for such an one setteth his own soul to sale."‡

We could want but one other testimony, to fix the seal of incontrovertible truth. Our Lord uses as synonymous and applicable to the same practices, the two expressions, "a house of merchandize," and "a den of thieves." §

plainings of the debauchery of mankind. They maintain themselves wholly by their own labour, and utterly despise wealth." Quoted also from Allix.

* Prov. xx. 14.

† Eccclus. xxvi. 29; xxvii. 1, 2.

‡ Ibid. x. 9.

§ Matt. xxi. 13; John, ii. 16.

I might here leave this introduction, and proceed at once to the subject of this Essay. But in a matter of so great consequence, and where the greatest efforts are so little likely to meet with success, it would be right to leave no stone unturned, which might discover something wherewith to stop the career of avarice, and the progress of money-worship, at this season. Much more is to be found in the writings of the wise among the heathens, in favour of the Christian doctrine, that it is hard for the rich to be saved, than among the philosophers of the nations of Christendom in modern times. Lord Brougham does languidly profess, that "The spirit of adventure, which has for its object, either the rapid increase of stock, with proportionate risk, or the acquisition of some fortune without the ordinary means of toil and hardship, is unfavourable to morals and manners."* The Quakers, in modern times, since the rise of the English commercial empire, have as a body, and as a school of philosophy, most plainly protested against the corrupting influence of trade, and of the eager and hasty desire of money-making. Clarkson thus expresses their sentiments:—"It will hardly be denied by moralists, that the buying and selling of commodities for profit is surrounded with temptations, and is injurious to pure benevolent and disinterested feeling."† But these principles of the Quakers, which for a long time gave a character to their manner of shop-keeping, and deterred them from many of the more questionable and speculative branches of trade,

* Colonial Policy, vol. i. p. 68.

† Portraiture of Quakerism, i. 54, ed. 1807.

are fast declining from their earlier vigour, and being swallowed up in the vortex of the prevailing fashion and philosophy. Let us listen to the plain uncompromising precepts of our own dear classical antiquity,—respecting the corrupting influence of wealth: the mistaken folly of its seekers: the misery which it brings upon its possessors; and the evils which it entails by its rapid accumulation, both upon individuals and upon states.

Bion says, “Avarice is the metropolis of all wickedness.”* The same sentiment is attributed to Diogenes.† Chilon said, that “Riches were a treasury of evils, a supply of miseries, and a store of dishonesty.”‡ By Ovid they are termed, “The provocatives of evils:” *opes irritamenta malorum*.§ Horace calls them, “dishonest, shamefaced,” *improbæ divitiæ*; “the instrument of the greatest wrongs that are done among us;” and says that, if we are about to give up our crimes, the first thing is to root out the seeds of covetousness.|| Democritus used to say, that “vast riches were as great an hindrance

* Stob. Serm. 10, ap. Lycosthenis *Apophthegmata*, tit. De Avaritia.

† Laert. lib. 6, c. 2, ap. *ibid*.

‡ Ant. Ser. de Divit. ap. *ibid*. tit. De Divitiis, &c.

§ Metam. i. 140.

||

“ aurum inutile,
Summi materiam mali.
Scelerum si bene pœnitet,
Eradenda cupidinis
Pravi sunt elementa.”

Hor. Car. lib. iii. Od. 24.

See also lib. iii. Od. 16. And again, Epist. lib. i. l. 53.

“ quærenda pecunia primum,
Virtus post nummos.”

to the mind, as long clothes are to the body.”* And Demetrius, “That the ready road to riches was to give up that of virtue.† Tully says, “Wherever the love of money is first conceived, and reason is not applied as a medicine to cure it, the mischief steals through the veins and vital parts of the body, and engenders a disease which soon becomes incurable; and that disease is avarice.”‡ Seneca says, that the possessor of riches is more filthy than the miner who digs them out of the earth.§ Crates, the Theban philosopher, gave a more practical proof of his opinion; for it is related of him, that he threw a vast sum of his gold into the sea, and said, “Go to the bottom, bad desires; I sink you, that you may not sink me.”||

Respecting the worthlessness of riches, and the misery of covetousness:—Valerius Maximus says, “To what purpose is it to reckon riches among great advantages, and poverty among great misfortunes, when the cheerful brow of the rich man hides a multitude of bitter vexations, and the uninviting exterior of the other abounds with solid and substantial advantages.”¶ And he says again, of covetousness, that “it has no enjoyment of what it possesses, and it is miserable from its desire of getting more and more.”** In a similar strain, among the more ancient philosophers of Greece, Bion

* Stob. Serm. 91, ap. Lycosthen. Apophth. tit. De Divitiis, &c.

† Seneca, in præf. lib. iv. Nat. Q. ap. ibid

‡ Tull. Tusc. lib. iv. c. 11.

§ Seneca, Epist. 94, ad Lucill. ap. Lycosthen. Apophth.

|| Ap. Hor. Delph. not. in lib. iii. Od. 24.

¶ Val. Max. lib. iv. c. 4,

** Ibid. lib. ix. c. 4.

said, that the covetous man was not the master, but the slave of his riches.* The same expression is attributed to Democritus.† And this also, that “to desire more than you have, is to throw away the use of what you possess, like the dog in Æsop’s fable.”‡ And Ariston said, that “the life of a covetous person was like a funeral feast: there was everything in the world there besides, but no cheerfulness.”§

The ancient authors are full of notices of the miseries caused by covetousness. Claudian, “The covetous are always poor:” *semper inops quicunque cupit.*|| Seneca, “The poor want little, the covetous everything.”¶ “They are more wretched than beggars; for these want but little, and those much.”** The same, “Avarice grows more and more devouring, like a fire.”†† The same author again, “There is one most grievous kind of want, a want in the midst of plenty; for the covetous man wants not only what he has not, but what he has.”‡‡ And again, “All nature itself is not enough for the covetous man:” *avidis, avidis, natura parum est.*§§

* Laert. lib. iv. c. 6, ap. Lycosthen. Apophth.

† Maximus, Sermon. 12, ap. *ibid.*

‡ Stob. Sermon. 10, ap. *ibid.*

§ *Ibid.* *ib.* There is no people among whom so little cheerfulness is seen as the English; except it be the Americans.

|| Claudian, in Ruf. l. i. v. 200.

¶ Epist. 108, ad Lucill. ap. Lycosth. Apophth.

** Lib. in Sap. non cadere injuriam, c. 13, ap. *ibid.*

†† De Benef. lib. c. 27, ap. *ib.*

‡‡ Epist. 73, ap. Hor. Delph. Car. lib. iii. Od. 16, in not.

§§ Senec. in Herc. Ætæo, v. 636, ap. Hor. Delph. Car. lib. iii. Od. 24, in not.

Horace, "Magnas inter opes inops."* Juvenal, "Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit."†

Of the older philosophers, Diogenes called the amassers of enormous possessions "great paupers."‡ He said, "they were like dropsical patients, for the one was full of money, and the other was full of water, and both thirsted for more of that which was in the act of destroying them."§ And Aristotle also says, that "to the avaricious man, money is the end, but it is not the bounds of his desires:"||—that "the poor man wants few things, the avaricious man all things."¶

They were equally wise in their recommendations, that the way to enjoy our riches is to set bounds to our want of them. Plato recommends the proper measure of wealth, almost in the words of the prayer of Agar, "Give me neither poverty nor riches, feed me with food convenient for me; lest I be full and deny Thee, and say, Who is the Lord, or lest I be poor and steal, and take the name of my God in vain."** Being asked, what was the best amount of fortune for a man to have, he replied, "So much that it shall not be a snare to his mind, and shall provide necessary food and clothing for his body."†† The same philosopher gave advice to a covetous man, "O wretched man," said he,

* Hor. Car. lib. iii. Od. 16, v. 28, see Od. 24, v. 64.

† Juv. Sat. 14, v. 139.

‡ Stob. Ser. 10, ap. Lycosth. Apophth.

§ Ibid. ib. Eadem similit. utitur Polib. Hist. lib. xiii. ap. ib.

|| πᾶλος, not πᾶγας. Arist. de Repub. lib. vi. ap. ib.

¶ Anto. par. i. ser. 33; Melis. ap. Lycosth. tit. De Paupertate.

** Prov. xxx. 8, 9.

†† Stob. Serm. 94, ap. Lycosthen. Apophth. tit. De Divitiis, &c.

“strive not to enlarge your estate, but to diminish your covetousness.”* Democritus said, to a man who was complaining of his poverty, “If you covet but little, little things will seem to you great.”† “If your desires are few, you will be rich though poor.” And again, being asked, what was the easiest way of making yourself rich? he replied, “Making your desires poor.”‡ Epicurus, writing to Pythocleas, says, “If you wish to make yourself rich, you must not try to add something to your wealth, but to take away something from your wants.”§ Cleanthes answered to the same question, in the same way; “Make your desires poor.”|| And Epictetus being asked, when a man could be said to be rich, answered, “When he is satisfied with what he has got.”¶ And Valerius Maximus again, “Surely, that man possesses everything, who covets nothing.”**

And in former times no more doubt was entertained, that riches were a fatal injury to nations and states, than to the private people. That Lycurgus expelled gold and silver, and forbade merchants and such men an entrance into his dominions, has been mentioned. Upon which Plutarch observes, that so long as they observed those institutions of Lycurgus, the Spartans maintained their pre-eminence in Greece, namely, for 600 years; but that no sooner did the love of money, and avarice

* Stob. Serm. 10, ap. ib. tit. De Avaritia.

† Anton. in Melissa, par. 1, Serm. 33, ap. ib. De Paupertate.

‡ Stob. ap. ib. De Divitiis, &c.

§ Seneca, ap. ib.

|| Stob. Serm. 94, ap. ib.

¶ Stob. ap. ib.

** Lib. iv. c. 4.

enter in among them, than their power decreased, and the neighbouring states, which had before been their friends and allies, became their enemies. Nevertheless, because they preserved some few expiring sparks of Lycurgus's laws, they did not succumb or pay tribute to Philip, when the rest of Greece did, though their towns were without walls, and themselves were much reduced in numbers; until, having set at nought all Lycurgus's institutions, they became a prey to the tyranny of their own countrymen. A grave lesson and warning, adds Lycosthenes, to all the world, that empires are established by virtue; that through the love of money, of pleasure, and luxury, either they are destroyed, or they are turned into a tyranny.*

Diogenes said, "there was no room for virtue to dwell where riches were, whether in a house or in a state."† Valerius also said, "that kingdom or state stood on a firm and permanent foundation, which kept itself free from the lust of money and of women;"‡ for these were constantly put in the same category. And Horace, "Whosoever would set his heart upon putting an end to unnatural murders and the rage of civil discords, and on having a statue raised to him as the father of his country, let him be bold enough to curb the unbridled avarice of the people.§

Having used this introduction, respecting the acknowledged danger of riches to individuals and to states,

* Plut. in Lacon. ap. Lycosth. Apophth. tit. De Avaritia.

† Ibid. tit. De Divitiis, &c.

‡ Val. Max. lib. iv. c. 3.

§ Hor. Car. lib. iii. Od. 24. Licentiam. In marg. cupiditatem. Ed. Delph.

I shall confine myself now to the effects of commercial riches, and the character and history of states which have founded their strength and dominion upon their commerce. It will be found that such nations have always been profligate and wicked beyond measure; that they have been most cruel and grasping and tyrannical in their policy and spirit: and that they have successively come to a disastrous, and miserable, and a contemptible end. The Dutch afford perhaps the most happy exception to these consequences.*

The Cretans were the first great commercial people; and they claimed under Minos the dominion over a great part of the Ægean Sea. Plato says that Minos framed the laws of the Cretans relating to the sea.† The Cretans Polybius represents as disgraced by piracy, robbery, and almost every crime, and as the only people who thought nothing sordid or dishonourable that was joined with gain.‡ St. Paul quotes a description of them, as liars, and evil beasts, and gluttons.

These gave place to the Canaanites and Phœnicians.

* Lord Brougham observes, (*Colonial Policy*, i. 53,) that "Holland is the only country in Europe where the merchants are almost all of foreign extraction, or foreigners by birth." Perhaps this may partly explain their suffering less by commercial demoralization, as they have never become a purely commercial nation. Many of their merchants have emigrated to England, and are now English families. But perhaps this is a more operative cause of the above fact,—that the Dutch never attained to the same exclusive pre-eminence as a commercial power, which other nations have; or at least but for a very short period.

† *Sea Laws*, 3rd ed. 4to., no date, p. 16, referring to *Diod. Sic.*; *Thucyd. lib. i.*; *Eutrop. lib. vi.*; *Plato de Leg. lib. i.*

‡ *Polyb. lib. iv. c. 8, 53, &c.*; *lib. vi. Extr. 3.*

The debaucheries and wickedness of the former are recorded in holy writ, and were equalled only by their miserable overthrow and destruction. Of the tyrannical spirit of the latter this is recorded, that "Atergatis, their queen, published an edict, importing, that it should not be lawful for any one to eat fish without her licence and permission."*

The chief commercial nation for the time has always set up and endeavoured to maintain an absolute sovereignty over all the seas where their ships were used to sail; and all the other weaker nations have at the same time been loud in proclaiming the freedom of the sea; and these same have successively set up the pretension to absolute dominion, which they before contested, so soon as they came in their turn to the same commercial pre-eminence. The Phœnicians, the Athenians, the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Venetians, the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English,—have successively, while growing into power, maintained, with an equally loud appeal to natural right and justice, the freedom of the seas; and again, with equal strength, the right of dominion, so soon as they could enforce it.

"The Tyrians, according to Quintus Curtius, had not only a sovereign dominion over the neighbouring sea, but were mistress over all the seas through which their ships did sail." "The Tyrians were such absolute masters, that Tyria Maria, or Tyrian Seas, became a proverbial expression, for all seas possessed in such a way, that the passage through them could not be obtained without the permission of the lord."†

* Sea Laws, p. 18, quoting Pliny.

† Sea Laws, p. 21.

“By the first league concluded between the Carthaginians and the Romans, Polybius tells us, it was stipulated, that neither the Romans nor their confederates should sail beyond the Fair Promontory, unless they should be driven thither by tempests or enemies.” By the second treaty, “That no Roman should so much as touch either upon Africa or Sardinia, except it were either to take in provisions, or repair their ships.”* Of this second treaty, Lord Brougham observes, that it was framed exactly upon the principles of the modern mercantile system.†

After the Carthaginians came the Romans, with the same high pretensions; and it is related, that “after the conclusion of the peace, at the end of the Second Punic War, the Carthaginians themselves burned 500 gallies, that they might not be obliged to pay homage to their conquerors, of whom they had formerly exacted the same marks of submission.” “Dionysius Halicarnassæus writes, that the dominion of the Romans extended over the whole ocean as far as it is navigable.”‡

Afterwards the Venetians arrogated the same right; and when the Doge of Venice espoused the sea, by the annual ceremony of throwing a ring into it, he used to proclaim, “We espouse thee, O Sea, in sign of a real and perpetual dominion.”§

In the year 1638, the Venetians sunk the Turkish fleet, for entering the Adriatic without their permission;

* Sea Laws, p. 23.

† Col. Pol. 1, 23.

‡ Dion. Halic. lib. i. De Orig. Rom. ap. Sea Laws, pp. 23, 24.

§ Sea Laws, p. 26.

and landing men on the Grand Signior's own coast, put a great number of the mariners who had escaped to the sword, for this insult to their sovereignty. Shortly after, they concluded a peace with the Sultan, by which it was agreed, "That it should be lawful for the Venetians in time to come, to seize by force, if they did not otherwise submit, all Turkish vessels which should enter the Gulf without their licence; and that even within the ports and havens under the obedience of the Grand Signior, situated on the Venetian Gulf."*

In 1630, they refused a passage to Mary, sister to the King of Spain, who was married to the Emperor Ferdinand's son, the King of Hungary, from Naples to Trieste, except in their own vessels. And afterwards, commissioners on both sides having met at Friuli, in 1635, after a full hearing, the imperial commissioners acknowledged, that by the native force and evidence of the learned Chizzola's discourse, they were persuaded in their consciences, "That the commonwealth of Venice was the undoubted Mistress and Protectress of the Adriatic Gulf, and might there impose what custom she thought convenient."†

While the Venetians were thus supreme, and the Spaniards were as yet only struggling into commercial importance, one of their legal writers, Fernando Vasquez, counsellor to Philip III. of Spain, writes thus, in his Discourse of the Law of Nature and Nations:—"Their opinion is not much to be esteemed, who imagine that

* Sea Laws, pp. 26, 27.

† Sea Laws, p. 9, from Julius Paucius's Tract, Of the Dominion of the Sea, 2nd Bk. ch. 6.

the Genoese and Venetians may forbid others a passage through their respective gulfs, as if they could lay claim to those seas by prescription ; which is equally contrary to the imperial laws, and to the primitive law of nature and nations.”* The author I am quoting from, observes in another place,—“The Spaniards have sometimes thought fit to speak favourably of the community of the sea ; yet when it was for their present purpose, they have as severely maintained the dominion of it as any other nation.” “Several German authors, among the titles of Charles the Fifth, Emperor and King of Spain, (and particularly in the Preface to the Constitution concerning public judicatures in the empire,) style him, King of the Canary Islands, and of the islands and continent of the Indies, and of the ocean, &c.”†

Emanuel, King of Portugal, in his preface to the Laws of Portugal, styles himself,

“Dom Manuel, per grace de Deos Rey, &c., Senhor de Guinee, et da conquista et navigacam et commercio d’Æthiopia, Arabia, Persia, et da Indie, &c.”—Where he pretends to be sole lord of the navigation and trade of Æthiopia, Persia, &c. But all this is nothing in comparison to what is found in the body of the laws of Portugal, concerning the pretensions of that nation to the sole dominion even of the vast Atlantic Ocean itself. For among the said laws, “O Quinto Libro des Ordenaconnes,” tit. 112, there is a more positive and absolute prohibition to any person whatsoever, whether natives or strangers, in any ship or vessel, to pass to the coun-

* Sea Laws, p. 7.

† Ibid. pp. 28, 29.

tries, lands and seas of Guinea, and the Indies, either upon the occasion of war or commerce, or for any other reason whatsoever, without the King of Portugal's special licence and authority, under pain of death and confiscation of all effects, to be inflicted upon all such persons as should presume to go thither in contempt of the prohibition." "Pursuant to this law, several persons who fell into the hands of the Portuguese were put to death; and it extended to foreigners as well as the king's subjects; though the former never acknowledged this pretended title to the dominion of the Atlantic and Southern Sea; which gave occasion to a very hot dispute between Queen Elizabeth and Don Sebastian, King of Portugal."*

Again the tables were reversed; and the English came in turn to set up their pretensions to the dominion of the sea, which it had hitherto suited them to deny. And this gave rise to the celebrated controversy between Hugo Grotius, the Hollander, author of the work entitled *Mare Liberum*; which was answered by the learned Selden in his *Mare Clausum*.

All these other nations have perished miserably; and, with the one exception of Holland, above noticed, have become the most degraded, morally and politically, of any nations on the globe. England, in succeeding to this dominion, has followed out all the principles which had before characterized this mercantile pre-eminence, and has added to them; and it is impossible but that, if maintained, these principles must bring her Empire

* Sea Laws, p. 29.

to the same ruin, which has visited retribution upon the heads of the other great fornicators of the earth. England, and these other European nations, seem to have been fulfilling that prophecy of the re-establishment of commercial Tyre, "And it shall come to pass, after the end of seventy years, that the Lord will visit Tyre, and she shall turn to her hire, and shall commit fornication with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth." It is also added indeed, "And her merchandize and her hire shall be holiness to the Lord: it shall not be treasured nor laid up; for her merchandize shall be for them that dwell before the Lord, to eat sufficiently, and for durable clothing."* The evil principles of commerce will be one of the subjects of conquest and regeneration, in the ultimate triumph of Christ's kingdom; and then "there shall be no more the Canaanite (the Merchant) in the House of the Lord;"†—but this, from its description, will not be, till the principles and practices of commerce are changed; and diametrically opposed to what they at present profess themselves to be.

The principle of commercial pre-eminence has been always that of engrossing the whole trade of the world, not for the supply and accommodation of the people,—“to eat sufficiently, and for durable clothing,”—as even Aristotle says it should be; but for the purpose of heaping up gain, and national riches,—which Aristotle says it should not be.‡ This principle England has

* Isai. xxiii. 17, 18.

† Zech. xiv. 21.

‡ Arist. de Rep. l. 4, c. 6.

been carrying to the utmost excess;* and she has grafted on to it her own system of machine working, and manufacturing monopoly, and her colonial system. The engrossing principle of commercial dominion has given rise to a system of more uncivilized cruelty in the conduct of naval warfare, than has ever been approved or admitted in military operations by land, in modern times. In carrying on warfare on land, it is contrary to all principles of justice to interfere with the trade and dealings of the inhabitants, further than to obtain such supplies as are necessary for the subsistence of the troops quartered in the country. To do more than this, in impoverishing the inhabitants, is considered the height of savage cruelty and barbarism: it is making war against the subsistence of man. But on the sea, it has been held up as a principle of warfare, by the dominant maritime nations, to destroy all trade and commerce; to make private people partakers and sufferers in the wars of their governments, and to spoil them of their private property and subsistence, as if it were the object and instrument of warfare.—And so it is:—because money and goods are the very subject and means, and the instrument of commercial dominion; and this dominion, in its strivings to be universal, requires the whole of them for itself. So haughty are

* The relaxations which England has ever made in this system, have been of necessity; and for the sake of retaining as much as possible of what she was in danger of losing. Nevertheless, this operation, though of compulsion, is as it were an effort of nature, and of the course of things, in the direction of a better and more Christian system.

the pretensions of naval dominion, that a similar distinction is set up with respect to prisoners of war: who, on shore, are only made of persons taken with arms in their hands, but on the sea of other persons: as though they were invading the dominions of the power which held the supremacy.*

And England has carried out this principle of maritime warfare to a greater extent than other nations, in proportion as her power and opportunity to do so has increased; and she has taken steps in this retrograde movement towards barbarism, at the time when we have been most congratulating ourselves upon increasing civilization and refinement. Wheaton, who is one of the best modern authorities upon the subjects of international law, thus describes the usage of nations upon this head; and the particular practice of Great Britain in regard to it.

“The progress of civilization,” he says, “has slowly but constantly tended to soften the extreme severity of the operations of war by land; but it still remains unrelaxed in respect to maritime warfare; in which the private property of the enemy taken at sea or afloat in port, is indiscriminately liable to capture and confiscation.”† With regard to England, he says this: “The ancient law of England seems to have surpassed in liberality its modern practice. In the recent maritime wars commenced by that country, it has been the constant usage to seize and condemn as *droits of admiralty*

* Lord Brougham's *Speeches*, vol. i. *Intro.*

† Wheaton's *Elements of International Law*, ch. ii. s. 7, p. 84, edit. London, 1836.

the property of the enemy found in its ports at the breaking out of hostilities; and this practice does not appear to have been influenced by the corresponding conduct of the enemy in this respect.”* This is in addition to the system of destroying the maritime trade of the enemy, and capturing all their private property on the sea; though it is only a branch and extension of it. So that though private property is respected and undisturbed when on shore, whether in the enemy’s territory or in our own country, yet what happens to be afloat is subject to robbery and pillage, according to the rules of naval warfare; and this country first carried these practices farther than any other country. Such is the ambition and tyranny of commercial dominion.

It is not necessary to dwell at length upon the extension of this principle, which the English first introduced, in the pride of their growing dominion of the sea, in what is called the rule of the war of 1756;—by which we interdicted even the trade of neutral vessels with the ports of the enemy, and captured them with our cruisers.—This has settled down into the modern doctrine, which interdicts to neutrals, during war, all trade not open to them with the particular country during peace.† The old rule used to be, “Free ships free goods: enemy’s ships enemy’s goods;” that is, nations in amity with ourselves might carry on what trade they pleased, even in goods belonging to the enemy.‡

* Wheaton’s Elements of International Law, ch. i. s. 11, p. 20.

† Ibid. ch. iii. s. 24, see p. 225, 227.

‡ Ibid. ch. iii. s. 20.

It is this peculiar pretension of commercial warfare which has given rise to the organized system of falsehood and fraud carried on by means of false flags and fictitious papers; and which is avowedly practised and taught in naval affairs.

But we hasten to the transactions of the late war; which exhibit the great and final struggle of Great Britain to attain to her commercial dominion, and her conduct in attaining it.

The last war was a war for universal empire, between France and England: for the dominion of the land, and of the sea: between the empire of arms and the empire of commerce. The first distinct separation and array of these principles and forces against one another is so powerfully and pictorially described by Mr. Alison, that I cannot do better than use his eloquent description.

“On the 20th of October, 1805,” he thus begins his chapter upon our commercial system, “the conqueror of continental Europe stood on the heights of Ulm, to behold the captive army of Germany defile before him. While every head around him swam with the giddy intoxication of the spectacle,—while every eye, in the vanquished thousands who crowded past, was turned with involuntary homage towards the hero who had filled the world with his renown,—the steady mind of Napoleon regarded only the future; and discerning, through the blaze of present glory, the shadow of coming events, he said to those around him—‘Gentlemen, this is all well; but I want greater things than these; I want ships, colonies, and commerce.’ On the

day after these memorable words were spoken — on the 21st of October, 1805 — the combined fleets of France and Spain were destroyed on the waves of Trafalgar, by the arm of Nelson; and a few dismantled hulls, riddled with shot, alone remained, of the vast armaments which had so recently threatened the British empire, to carry the tale of woe to the vanquished, and ‘ships, colonies, and commerce,’ had irrevocably passed into the hands of their enemies. We now see the fruit of that mighty victory; we behold the British race peopling alike the western and southern hemispheres, and can already anticipate the time when 200 millions of men, on the shores of the Atlantic and in the isles of the Pacific, will be speaking our language, reading our authors, glorying in our descent.”*

Such was the great and conclusive separation and array of military and commercial power against one another; and this rivalry grew in intensity and magnitude, developing new and unheard of principles on both sides, till it resulted in the overthrow of military empire in the world, the establishment of Great Britain’s pre-eminence among nations, and the great Commercial Empire.

On his side, Napoleon continually increased his armies, and his military operations; and warfare as continually increased in vigour and ferocity: so that, whereas the loss of one or two thousand men, of the vanquished party, out of a large army, decided the fate of a battle in the early part of the revolutionary war,

* Alison on Population, vol. ii. p. 347.

the latter victories required sacrifices to ten and twenty times that amount;* and the last decisive catastrophe was by far the most destructive, and the most deadly contested of all.†

On the part of Great Britain, her money, which was her instrument of warfare, and the sceptre of her dominion, was lavished in greater and greater amounts, and with more exhausting conscriptions,—for though, beyond all former principle and precedent, she has taught money to breed, yet she cannot, like nature in her vital economy, repair the drain in a single generation,—till she exhibited all the nations of Europe her captives, and herself their mistress, when she bound them in golden chains, by her subsidies to every one of them, and crushed the arms of Napoleon by these means,—and finally took her seat upon her throne, as their imperial sovereign, when the crowned heads of the continent visited her shores to do her homage, and to pay their worship to her golden image.

The spread of the English language, which has superseded the French, as the language of general use, even in Europe, is another sign of England's chiefdom, and the supremacy of her dominion.

England, on her part, as well as Napoleon, introduced new and unheard of principles into the conduct of the war, such as suited her pretension to commercial empire.

Hitherto blockades had been restricted, by the law of

* Alison's Hist. Eur.

† Duke of Wellington's Despatches—Waterloo, 19th June; Nivelles, 20th June; Joncourt, 26th June; Gonesse, 2d July, 1815.

nations, to ports which were the subject of vigorous siege at the particular moment. England enlarged the above-mentioned system of warring against the enemy's commerce, to the extent of declaring whole coasts and kingdoms in a state of blockade, and forbidding the approach of all vessels of trade and merchandize.—Wheaton says of this system, that it could not be rested upon any just notion of contraband, nor could it be justified by the reason of the thing, or the approved usage of nations.* He says, “If the mere hope, however apparently well founded, of annoying or reducing an enemy, by intercepting the commerce of neutrals in the articles of provision (which in themselves are no more contraband than ordinary merchandize) to ports not besieged or blockaded, would authorize that interruption, it would follow, that a belligerent might at any time prevent, without a siege or blockade, all trade whatever with the enemy.”†

It is generally urged on our part, that the orders in council, which established these new practices in war, were an act of necessity, and adopted in retaliation of the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, directed against our commerce. Among disputing parties, both sides are always wrong; and each opponent adopts the practices of his adversary, and successively exceeds in violence. But the Berlin decree, which is dated 21st November, 1806, was preceded by the order in council of 16th May, 1806, which declared “the whole coasts, harbours, and rivers, from the Elbe to Brest inclusive,

* Wheaton's Elements of International Law, ch. iii. s. 21, p. 205.

† Ibid. p. 206.

as actually blockaded," with the exception of neutral goods in neutral vessels, not contraband of war; and "the coast from Ostend to the mouth of the river Seine subject to a blockade of the strictest kind."* The further retaliatory orders were dated 7th January, 1807, and 11th November, 1807.

Mr. Alison remarks, "Was the Berlin decree the origin of the commercial warfare; or was it merely, as Napoleon and the French writers assert, a retaliation upon England, by the only means at the disposal of the French emperor, for the new and illegal species of warfare which, *in the pride of irresistible maritime strength*, they had thought fit to adopt?"† Upon the whole, the French emperor seems to have been as well justified, as hostile nations are ever likely to be, in his complaints against the English; and in declaring that the Berlin decree was to be in force till England should agree to make the same law of capture applicable by sea and land; and to abandon the right of declaring coasts or ports not actually invested, in a state of blockade.‡

* Martens, Sup. 5, 437. This decree was repealed, as to all ports from the Elbe to the Ems inclusive, by an order in council of the 25th September, 1806.

Before this, the Prussian government had taken possession of Hanover, and excluded all British ships from the ports of the Prussian dominions. And this was retaliated by an order in council of 5th April, 1806.—*Alison's Hist. Eur.*, vol. vi. p. 330, n.

† *Alison's Hist. Europe*, vol. vi. p. 352.

‡ See Lord Brougham's *Speeches*, vol. i. *Introduct.* pp. 396, 397.

In effect the same drama had been partially acted over before, in the earlier periods of the revolutionary war. Wheaton says, "The doctrine of the English Court of Admiralty, as to provisions becoming contraband under certain circumstances of war, was adopted by the British govern-

I will quote one passage from Lord Brougham's speech, on the repeal of the orders of council, to show the acknowledgment of this peculiar and new-invented principle of commercial aggrandizement. "I will also pass over the still more material question, how far we have a right to blockade, for purposes not belligerent, but mercantile; that is, to exclude neutrals from trading with our enemy, not with the view of reducing that enemy to submission, and terminating the contest more speedily, for the general good, but upon the speculation of stunting the enemy's trade, and encouraging our own." *

ment in the instructions given to their cruisers on the 8th June, 1793, directing them to stop all vessels laden wholly or in part with corn, flour, or meal, bound to any port in France, and to send them into a British port, to be purchased by government, or to be released on condition of disposing of their cargo elsewhere" (p. 194); and an order in council to the same effect was issued in April, 1795, (p. 199). And it appears that these were retaliated; for Lord Brougham says (Speeches, i. 397), "Napoleon borrowed from the Directory the outline of his commercial measures. The main provisions of the Berlin decree are to be found in the decrees of July, 1796, and January, 1798." "In the month of March, 1799, the British government notified to all neutral powers, that the ports of Holland were all invested and blockaded by the British forces, and that every vessel, of whatever flag, every cargo, and every bottom, attempting to enter them, would become forfeited by the law of nations, as attempting to carry succour to the besieged. It must be admitted that in no former war had the blockading system been carried to this extent; but this has not been for want of right, but want of power."—*Mr. Serjt. Marshall*, quoted Chitty's *Commerc. Law*, i. 452, ed. 1824.

In 1793, the English entered into treaties with Russia, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Prussia, and the Two Sicilies, prohibiting exportations to France, and preventing the trade of neutrals with her.—*Alison, Hist. Eur.* ii. 143, 144.

* Brougham's *Speeches*, vol. i. p. 447. Davis, in his description of

The next principle in our system of commercial empire, is our colonial system. The only use and view with which we look upon other kingdoms and nations, is as constituting a market for our traffic—so completely are we, as we have been called, a nation of shopkeepers. We send out emigrants, and plant colonies, and keep them dependant upon ourselves, for the sake of securing a market. We make voyages of discovery for the sake of finding a market. Our missions are made advantage of as opening markets for the commodities of the British merchants. We fight for and purchase colonies, for the sake of adding a market. We wage war, and conquer nations, and oblige them to terms of forced and unwilling intercourse, for the sake of procuring a market. Lord Palmerston declared in his speech in the House of Commons, (August 10th, 1842), that the military possession of Affghanistan was most important to the commercial as well as the political interests of this country. We have carried on a protracted and cruel war in China, for the avowed object of making a customer of the Chinese empire : of making it subject to the commercial system and dominion of this country : of making it a colony and market of England.*

the Chinese, says, "The mandarins had such a strange notion of a ship, which went about the world seeking other ships in order to take them, that they could not be brought to hear reason on that head."—Vol. i. p. 54.

* Mr. Alison says upon the subject of the British colonial system, "The policy of Great Britain, for a century and a half, has been founded upon the principle of establishing a colonial empire. It was to extend or uphold its colonial empire, that the greatest wars of the eighteenth

In prosecuting this scheme of universal commerce, and of aggrandizing markets, the greatest enormities and aggressions have been continually practised by British power and policy. Our whole course in India is generally admitted to have been a continued series of acts of injustice and indefensible aggression. Lord Brougham admits, "The means by which, with very few exceptions, all the colonial territories of modern Europe have been acquired, are such as reflect no great honour either upon the honesty or the humanity of the different nations." * In 1832, the East India Company sent an expedition upon a large scale, to endeavour systematically to establish a professedly smuggling trade along the whole coast of China; and thus to tempt the inhabitants, by the prospect of gain, to violate the laws of their country;

century were undertaken; and the whole system of its commercial legislation was rested on the desire to establish growing markets for its produce in distant hemispheres, and maintain inviolate the connection with them by means of a powerful navy, to which the benefits of that intercourse were exclusively confined." "The colonial system, so far as the British empire is concerned, commenced in the days of Queen Elizabeth; but its first considerable development was during the troubled times, and under the influence of the vehement democratic spirit of the Great Rebellion. The puritans, who sought refuge from the persecution of Charles I., laid the foundation of the American states, and they have imprinted their spirit on their descendants to the present hour; and the Navigation Laws were the work of the Long Parliament, and the protector Cromwell." "Lord Chatham successfully prosecuted this system" (the colonial system) "through all the glories of the seven years' war; Lord North strove to prevent it being subverted in the American war; and Mr. Pitt re-asserted the same principles during the revolutionary contest, and reared up the greatest colonial empire that was ever witnessed upon earth."—*Alison on Population*, vol. ii. pp. 349, 350, 353.

* Colonial Policy, i. 36.

and Mr. Gutzlaff, a missionary, accompanied the expedition, as interpreter. The Chinese showed them every hospitality and kindness ; but they resisted the temptation, and obeyed the laws of the empire.* A violation of the honour and the sacred office of ambassador, on a very recent occasion, is boasted of as one of the triumphs of British wisdom and aggrandizement. The government of this country sent a present of horses to Runjeet Sing. In accordance with their instructions, the conductors of the present sailed up one of the mouths of the Indus, which they knew to be prohibited ; taking soundings and surveys, the whole way, of the river and the country. When required to desist from their voyage, they pretended obedience, and descended the river again, but by a different channel ; taking soundings as before throughout their course. They then ascended a third branch, till they were again called upon to desist ; and so they got the soundings of as many of the mouths of the Indus as they wished ; and they finally persisted in ascending the river to Runjeet Sing's court, where they took merit for the present, which they had brought to clothe them with the sacred character of ambassadors, —being in fact spies of the country.

Another branch of our system of commercial aggrandizement, is our endeavour after a manufacturing monopoly. Some of the false principles and practices which have engrafted themselves on this system have been already noticed. But one of the chief devices which it uses, in pursuing this object, is the machine system. This much encouraged and unrestrained and always more rapidly advancing use of machinery, is the weapon

* Davis's China, i. 117, 118.

in the hand of wealth, for the control and oppression of the poorer classes ; and the subjection of them to their own monied empire. The operation of this instrument is to be observed, in the universal success of the masters of factories in the contests for wages, and the repeated instances in which strikes for wages have given occasion to the invention of machines, which have superseded the employment of human labour altogether.*

The mischiefs of the too rapid invention of machinery and our scheme of mercantile monopoly, are not confined to this country,—where the inventors are fast ruining the workmen, and secondarily most of themselves,—but are extended to the utmost bounds of our great commercial empire. The fine trade of India, especially in muslins, is become extinct ; and the hand looms, once so generally active, are there idle. We have decreed the same oppression to China ; whose active population seems destined to pine and dwindle under our upas touch :—unless the superiority of manual to mechanical art should revive it into use and fashion, in their hands, under an improved system of tastes and habits, and moral condition ; and so the Chinese commercial system should swallow up our own.

This empire of commerce has its code of laws. The legislators of this table are the doctors of the school of political economists. “ These sages in the satanic school in politics,” as they have been justly called,† have framed a code of maxims, which are characterized as much by their direct opposition to the precepts of the Gospel, as by any other peculiarity.

* See Essay xi. p. 215.

† See Life of M. T. Sadler, Esq. M.P. p. 151.

First,—Wealth is established as the idol of their worship, and the rock of their strength.

• For the creation of this, the passions of selfishness and covetousness are to be set loose; and this great end is said most certainly to be attained, for the best advantage of all, by every one pursuing most unrestrainedly his own private interest.

It is declared a crime, to “increase and multiply our species;” because, there being by this means more common worshippers to be provided for, there will be less surplus remaining for the princes and the high-priests.*

As a branch of this law, it is a crime to build ^{new} habitations for the working classes; and he who takes down cottages is a public benefactor.

Commons and open grounds are to be enclosed by the rich; where the cows and pigs and geese of the poor, have before picked a scanty subsistence.†

By this code, saving money is a first virtue.

Luxury is a duty.

“Artificial wants,” or the desire of finery and comforts, is the great means and attainment of civilization;‡ and,

* “A man born into a world already possessed, if he cannot get subsistence from his parents, and if society does not want his labour, has no claim of right to the smallest portion of food, and in fact, has no business to be where he is.”—*Malthus*, ap. *Mr. Sadler's Life*, p. 169. “An attention to this obligation” (the prudential check) “is of more effect in the prevention of misery than all the other virtues combined.”—*Ibid.* 531.

† See the effect on the poor of the enclosures which took place during the first forty years of George III.—*Official Document*. Of thirty-six enclosures, all but one were reported injurious to the poor.—*Enclosure of Waltham Forest*, 1818, p. 24, 25, 26. (By Sir John Hall.)

‡ “Artificial wants of any kind are utterly unknown among the

Such civilization is the great instrument of improvement in the human race ;

You must civilize first, and then Christianize.*

By this code, almsgiving is a crime ; and even a Poor-labouring classes of the people." "Those habits of indulgence which are the great springs of commerce."—*Alison on Population*, i. 338.

"It is by enlisting the active propensities on the side of virtue and self-denial that the wonders of civilization are prepared."—*Ib.* ii. 102 ; see also *ib.* i. 349, 379, 393 ; ii. 124.

* "The poor who are actuated by the desire to improve their dress, to enlarge their houses, and augment their furniture, have passed the most critical period in human existence. A working man who puts on a good coat on Sunday, has mounted one step on the ladder of improvement. The next may take him to church. The country has comparatively little to fear where the great body of the lower orders are influenced by such motives, &c." "In remote situations, tailors and milliners would do more in the end to improve the habits of the lower orders, than all the efforts of the benevolent."—*Ibid.* ii. 126, 129. I do not refer to Mr. Alison because his sentiments are generally such as I would condemn ; but his repetitions are constant upon this subject. It only affords cause to lament, that this poison has become so widely diffused, and entered so deeply. The quotation that I am about to make will show that I do not mean general condemnation ; but this infection has entered even among the most excellent of the clergy, and it is on that account the more to be exposed and condemned.

The Bishop of Madras thus writes, in his Charge of 1839. Speaking of the native schools at Bombay, founded by the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, he says "There are, I am aware, some excellent persons who disapprove of these schools, because Christianity is not taught in them. For my own part, convinced that knowledge leads to truth, I look upon them as admirably calculated, with God's blessing, to promote most materially the progress of *civilization*, and consequently of *Christianity*, among the natives of India." And in his Charge of 1838, speaking of Sir Robert Grant's encouragement of what is good in India, "I learned something of his ceaseless activity in diffusing that information, and exciting that spirit of inquiry and enterprize in commercial pursuits, on which national prosperity so materially depends."

law, when private alms have failed under the influence of this system, is, as Lord Althorp confessed, contrary to the principles of political economy.*

In effect, "The modern system," as Mr. Sadler has stated it, "which has been insinuating itself amongst us by degrees, is an attack upon the privileges of labouring poverty throughout." "In agriculture, this spirit dictates what Lord Bacon calls, the engrossment of great farms." "In manufactures, it would, as the Edinburgh Encyclopædia justly expresses it, turn out of employment the entire population, if the master manufacturer, by the employment of machinery, could save an additional 5 per cent." "In commerce, it exhorts you to buy where you can buy cheapest; though you leave the multitude, who enable you to buy at all, without employment, raiment, and bread."† "The repeal of the usury laws has increased the tyranny of capital."‡

The empire of commerce has its colleges of wise men,

* Life of Mr. Sadler, p. 167, note. "A youth of eighteen would be as completely justified in indulging the sexual passion with every object capable of exciting it, as in following indiscriminately every impulse of his benevolence."—*Malthus*, ib. p. 173.

† Life of Mr. Sadler, p. 145.

‡ Ibid. p. 537. The same spirit and principle, of oppression to the working classes, for the sake of extorting a greater surplus profit, is carried into all branches by the same men. "The system of these cotton capitalists, when they purchase an estate, is to have it revalued; they carry out the principle of their ledger into their rent-rolls. The rents are doubled; and I have known many families ruined in this way by these men." "These are the men who are to become the possessors of the soil of England;" "who, as Burke says, make their ledgers their bibles, their counting-houses their churches, and their money their god."—(Mr. Ferrand's Speech, Feb. 14, 1842.)

and its schools of learning. "Men who would formerly have devoted their lives to metaphysical and moral research, are now given up to a more material study:—to the theory of rents, and the philosophy of the market. Morality itself is allowed to employ no standard but that of utility; to enforce her requirements by no plea but expediency: a consideration of profit and loss. And even the science of metaphysics is wavering, if it has not actually pronounced in favour of a materialism, which would subject the great mysteries of humanity to mathematical admeasurement, and chemical analysis. Mammon is marching through the land in triumph; and it is to be feared that a vast majority of all classes have devoted and degraded themselves to the office of his train-bearers.*

According to the learning of this school, as has been said, "Worth means wealth,—and wisdom, the art of acquiring it."

The empire of commerce has its religion, its worship, its worshippers, and its sacrifices. The religion of money-worship admits willingly no sabbath of rest; it breaks down the distinction between night and day, between darkness and light; the fires on its altars are burning continually; it has its perpetual sacrifice. Let us borrow Wordsworth's description of its solemn orgies.

" When soothing darkness spreads
O'er hill and valley; and the punctual stars,
While all things else are gathering to their homes,
Advance, and in the firmament of heaven
Glitter—but undisturbing, undisturbed;

* Mammon, p. 80.

As if their silent company were charged
With peaceful admonitions for the heart
Of all-beholding man, earth's thoughtful lord;
Then in full many a region, once like this
The assured domain of calm simplicity
And pensive quiet, an unnatural light,
Prepared for never-resting labour's eyes,
Breaks from a many-windowed fabric huge;
And at the appointed hour a bell is heard—
Of harsher import than the curfew-knoll
That spake the Norman Conqueror's stern behest—
A local summons to unceasing toil!
Disgorged are now the ministers of day;
And as they issue from the illumined pile,
A fresh band meets them, at the crowded door—
And in the court—and where the rumbling stream,
That turns a multitude of busy wheels,
Glares, like a troubled spirit, in its bed
Among the rocks below,—men, maidens, youths,
Mothers, and little children, boys and girls,
Enter, and each the wonted task resumes,
Within this temple—where is offered up
To gain—the master idol of the realm,
Perpetual sacrifice. Even thus of old
Our ancestors, within the still domain
Of vast cathedral, or conventual church,
Their vigils kept, where tapers, day and night,
On the dim altar burned continually,
In token that the house was evermore
Watching to God.”*

Or, as another author expresses it, “Not only does covetousness exist among us,—it is honoured, worshipped, deified. Alas! it has, without a figure, its priests; its appropriate temples—earthly ‘hells;’ its

* Wordsworth's Excursion, bk. 8.

ceremonial ; its ever-burning fires : fed with precious things, which ought to be offered as incense to God ; and, for its sacrifices, immortal souls.”*

When Moses went up to God, for forty days, to obtain gifts and revelations for the Israelites, at the mount of God, “And when the people saw that Moses delayed to come down out of the mount, the people gathered themselves together unto Aaron, and said unto him, Up, make us gods, which shall go before us ; for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him.” And Aaron “said unto them, Whosoever hath any gold, let them break it off. So they gave it me ; then I cast it into the fire, and there came out this calf.” “And they said, These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.” “And the people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play.”

When our Lord is gone up to Heaven, and “is ascended up on high, to receive gifts for men,” for us his redeemed Church,—we begin to say, “the Lord delayeth his coming,”—“all things continue as they were ;”—we wot not what is become of this Moses ;—we have cast our gold into the fire, and there is come out this image ; and we eat and drink and play, and proclaim, These be our gods in which we trust, and to which we are indebted for our deliverance.

“And Moses cast the tables” (of the covenant) “out of his hands, and brake them beneath the mount”—in the very seat of God’s Church ;—“And the tables were the work of God ; and the writing was the writing of

* Mammon, p. 80.

God ;”—“ And he took the calf which they had made, and burnt it in the fire, and ground it to powder, and strawed it upon the water, and made the children of Israel drink of it.” “ And he said unto them, Go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour. “ And the Lord plagued the people, because they made the calf, which Aaron made.”*

And is not God plaguing us, and is not every man's hand set against his brother, in this free and fierce competition, with which every one is striking down his neighbour, and establishing himself upon his neighbour's ruin ; to be mown down in turn himself, among the thousands that are preparing for the next sacrifice ? The following is a characteristic anecdote of the spirit and operation of money-getting. Among the histories of the mines of South America, “ Dr. Walsh mentions, that at a very early period, two parties meeting on the banks of the river, where San José was afterwards built, instead of agreeing in their objects, and pursuing their operations together, they set upon each other like famished tigers, impelled by a hunger still more fierce—the cursed lust of gold. A bloody encounter ensued, in which many were killed on both sides ; and the river was from that time called Rio das Mortes, or the River of Death.”†

This is but an analogous picture of the spirit of hostility and opposition which the competition of trade is

* Exod. xxxii.

† Sat. Mag. May 28, 1842.

engendering in all quarters. In the mean time, the manufacturing system is crippling the bodies and minds of the vast labouring population. Hecatombs of children are the sacrifices. Witnesses to the effects of our system of trade as now carried on, "do not hesitate to affirm, that it is the cause of utter ruin, temporal and spiritual, to eight out of every ten children that are employed in it." With respect to the bodily frame, the report of the Baron Dupin, to the Chamber of Peers in France,* states, that in the manufacturing departments only 70 men in 10,000 were found fit for military service, but in the agricultural nearly half the population.†

The demoralizing system of our trade is so destructive and so extensive, that the Mahometan Sultan of Turkey has been compelled to issue an edict against the enormities of the Christian traffic. It proceeds in these terms :—

"God is great and omnipotent, and has appointed bounds to all things. It being a matter of public notoriety, that the infidel traders of Pera have increased in number, and stored their ships with various tempting articles, the offspring of Satan's inventions, whereby the wives and handmaids of the faithful are excited to acts of most mischievous extravagance, thereby injuring their domestic felicity, and entailing great pecuniary inflictions upon their husbands and lords; it also being observed that, not content with filling their shops with these luring creations of Eblis, the aforesaid breeders of mischief place behind their counters youths of comely

* February, 1840.

† Lord Ashley's Speech, July 4th, 1841.

appearance, hoping still further to captivate and intoxicate the senses of true believing women, and thence endangering their souls as well as their purses,—it is therefore ordained, in the name of the Avenger of all evils, that caution and discretion be inculcated by husbands and male relatives, and that the pernicious practice of frequenting these infidel traps of destruction be put an end to. Let this serve as a warning, or all parties will have abundance of filth for their portion in this world and the next.”

These are the arts, and tastes, and practices, which it is our principle to diffuse, and by which we operate to extend our commercial empire ; and in proportion as we have persuaded any people to adopt our habits and system, we congratulate them and ourselves upon their being the more highly civilized. As it has been truly said, “They desire and seek for the blessings of civilization, and then it proves their ruin.”*

A writer already quoted gives the following vivid description of this existing empire of money :—

“Gold is the only power which receives universal homage. It is worshipped in all lands without a single temple, and by all classes without a single hypocrite ; and often has it been able to boast of having armies for its priesthood, and hecatombs of human victims for its sacrifices. Where war has slain its thousands, gain has slaughtered its millions ; for while the former operates only with the local and fitful terrors of an earthquake, the destructive influence of the latter is universal and unceasing. Indeed, war itself—what has it often been but the art

* Gray's Australia. Letter by Laing, p. 235.

of gain practised on the largest scale? the covetousness of a nation resolved on gain, impatient of delay, and leading on its subjects to deeds of rapine and blood? Its history is the history of slavery and oppression in all ages. For centuries, Africa—one quarter of the globe—has been set apart to supply the monster with victims—thousands at a meal. And at this moment, what a populous and gigantic empire can it boast! the mine, with its unnatural drudgery; the manufactory, with its swarms of squalid misery; the plantation, with its imbruted gangs; and the market and the exchange, with their furrowed and careworn countenances,—these are only specimens of its more menial offices and subjects. Titles and honours are among its rewards, and thrones at its disposal. Among its counsellors are kings; and many of the great and mighty of the earth are enrolled among its subjects. Where are the waters not ploughed by its navies? What imperial element is not yoked to its car? Philosophy itself is become a mercenary in its pay; and science, a votary at its shrine, brings all its noblest discoveries as offerings to its feet. What part of the globe's surface is not rapidly yielding up its last stores of hidden treasure to the spirit of gain? or retains more than a few miles of unexplored and unvanquished territory? Scorning the childish dream of the philosopher's stone, it aspires to turn the Globe itself into Gold.”*

* Mammon, p. 78.

ESSAY XV.

THE PROPHETIC HISTORY OF THE EMPIRE OF
COMMERCE.

THE TYPICAL EMPIRE OF TYRE—THE KING OF TYRE A TYPE OF ANTI-CHRIST—THE TYPICAL EMPIRE OF BABYLON—THE EPHAH OF WICKEDNESS OF ZECHARIAH—COMMERCIAL WICKEDNESS—THE JUDGMENT OF TYPICAL BABYLON—OF TYPICAL TYRE—THE MYSTICAL BABYLON OF REVELATIONS—THE DOOM OF AVARICE—OF THE COMMERCIAL EMPIRE.

THE prophecies of the Old and New Testaments are fraught with descriptions of the rise, and power, and destruction, in the last days, of the great commercial empire. Tyrus and Babylon seem to be the prototypes of this vain-glorious and tyrannical power. The descriptions of their acts and pretensions are alike; and the prophetic circumstances of their final destruction also are parallel.

Of Tyrus it was said,

“The crowning city: whose merchants are princes.”

“He stretched forth his hand over the sea: he shook the kingdoms.” *

“Say unto Tyrus, O thou that art situate at the entry of the sea, which are a merchant of the people for many isles, Thus saith the Lord God; O Tyrus, thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty. Thy borders are in the midst of the seas, thy builders have perfected thy beauty.” †

Isai. xxiii. 8, 11.

† Ezek. xxvii. 3, 4.

“Thou sealest up the sum : full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty. Thou hast been in Eden, the garden of God. Every precious stone was thy covering : the sardius, topaz, and the diamond, the beryl, the onyx, and the jasper, the sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle ; and with gold hast thou filled thy treasures and thy coffers in the midst of thee. In the day when thou wast first set up” (when thy pre-eminence as a mercantile kingdom was first established), “thou wast set in the presence of the anointed cherub that covereth [that veileth] the throne of God,” (I committed to thee a church ;)—“I set thee so ;—thou wast set upon the holy mountain of God ; thou walkedst up and down in the midst of the stones of fire ;* thou wast perfect in thy ways from the day that thou wast created : till iniquity was found in thee. By the multitude of thy merchandize thou hast filled the midst of thee with violence ; and thou hast sinned.

“Therefore, I will cast thee as profane out of the mountain of God ; and the Cherub shall drive thee out of the midst of the stones of fire. Thine heart was lifted up because of thy beauty ; thou hast corrupted thy wisdom by reason of thy brightness. I will cast thee to the ground for the multitude of thy sins, and make an

* “Thou didst exercise, or assume, the office of high priest, with his breastplate of twelve precious stones ; in the midst of God’s chosen church and people.”—*Piscator ; Vatablus ; Kimchi ; Grotius*. Apud Poli Synopsis, in loco.

England became a great commercial nation at the same time when she first became established as the head of the Reformed Churches, and her king as the head of the Church.

example of thee before the rest of kings. Thou hast defiled thy sanctuaries by the multitude of thine iniquities, by the iniquity of thy traffic. Therefore will I bring forth a fire from the midst of thee; it shall devour thee; and I will bring thee to ashes upon the earth in the sight of all them that behold thee. All they that know thee among the nations shall wonder and wail over thee.—Thou shalt be a ruin; and never shalt be any more.” *

Yet it is prophesied of Tyre, that it shall be restored.

* Ezek. xxviii. See Septuagint.

“Notandum quod multa quæ tribuuntur hoc capite regi Tyri, ei difficillime secundum litteram accommodari possint, nisi multiplices et excessivas hyperbolas faciamus; ut faciunt Hebræi expositores. Veluti quod dicitur vers. 13: *In deliciis paradisi Dei fuisti. Et paulo post: Tu cherub extentus et protegens; et posui te in monte sancto Dei.* Et similiter, qui totum hoc vaticinium pertinere volunt ad casum Diaboli, qui est princeps Tyri, id est, superborum; et ipsi difficultates patiuntur. Sunt enim quædam sententiæ, quæ proprie pertinent ad regem terrenum: ut quod potentia ejus consistat in negotiatione, et in copia auri, et argenti et similibus. Itaque duæ hic regulæ observandæ sunt, ut hujus loci veram intelligentiam assequamur. Una est Ticonii, inter regulas ejus 7. apud August. lib. 3, de doct. Christ. videlicet de Diabolo et ejus corpore. Sicut enim in eodem Scripturæ contextu, sæpe fit transitus a Christo tanquam capite ad ecclesiam, quæ est Christi corpus; vel contra ab ecclesia ad Christum: ita non raro fit, ut scriptura transitum faciat a Diabolo tanquam capite, ad ejus membra, hoc est impiorum societatem; vel contra, ab impiis, vel uno impio, ad caput impietatis Diabolum.—Ita hoc capite de impio et superbo rege Tyri incipiens loqui propheta, aliquoties ea interserit, quæ multo convenientius in principem superborum Diabolum, ejusque de cælo ruinam dicantur et intelligantur. Alia est regula Augustini, Gregorii, et aliorum patrum; ut videlicet, si secundum litteram, seu historicum sensum aliqua, vel pie, vel saltem digne intelligi non possint; ea ad sublimiorem intelligentiam referantur.”—*Estiæ Annot.* in loco.

“After the end of seventy years shall Tyre sing as an harlot.”

“Go about the city, thou harlot that hast been forgotten.”

“And it shall come to pass, after the end of seventy years, that the Lord will visit Tyre; and she shall turn to her hire, and shall commit fornication with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth.”*

But the Tyre prophesied of in Ezekiel, “never shall be any more;”—and this Tyre of Isaiah, has never till now been restored to its former greatness, nor fornicated with its money and merchandize among all kingdoms.

Now the term of seventy years—of the Jews’ captivity—prophesied by Jeremiah, is coeval with the Israelites’ captivity and dispersion; and though partially fulfilled at the return of the two tribes, after the decrees of Cyrus and Darius, is still running on in prophetic idea, and is finally to be completed in the restoration of both Jews and Israelites together, from their wandering and dispersion. At that time, there seems little doubt, the figurative and mystical Babylon is to be overthrown, as the material one was to be at the end of the literal seventy years. “And it shall come to pass, when seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon.”† And in the same chapter it is prophesied that, at the same time, all nations shall be visited with the vials of God’s wrath. “For thus saith the Lord God of Israel unto me, Take the wine-cup of this fury at my hand, and cause all the nations, to

* Isai. xxiii. 15—17.

† Jerem. xxv. 12.

whom I send thee, to drink it. And they shall drink, and be moved, and be mad, because of the sword that I will send among them. Then I took the cup at the Lord's hand, and made all the nations to drink, unto whom the Lord had sent me." Then they are enumerated, namely, all the nations of the world that were then known;—"and all the kings of the north far and near, one with another; and all the kingdoms of the world, which are upon the face of the earth; and the king of Sheshach [Babylon] shall drink after them."

The vials of the "last plagues" of the wrath of God, seem now to have been well nigh poured out upon all the other nations of the earth;—and that which is destined for the great Babylon, to be that one alone which is left.

"In those days, and in that time, saith the Lord, *the children of Israel shall come, they and the children of Judah together.*"*

The seventy years of Tyrus therefore, of the great empire of commerce, seem but even now to be accomplishing.†

It is most remarkable, that of this commercial empire it is said, that Antichrist shall arise out of it. "Son of man, say unto the prince of Tyrus, Thus saith the

* Jerem. l. 4.

† "Numerus ille, inquit Hieron., perfectam et consummatam significat pœnitentiam; quia ex duplici perfecto numero componitur; septenario et denario inter se multiplicatis. Itaque significatur per septemPLICEM gratiam Spiritus Sancti, et decem præceptorum observantiam, animam, quæ post varias concupiscentias fuerat fornicata, ad pristinum integritatis statum reverti."—*Estii Annot. in Isai. xxiii. 15.*

The repentance here spoken of, must be that of the Jews.

Lord God ; because thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a God, I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the seas ; yet thou art a man, and not God, though thou set thine heart as the heart of God. Behold thou art wiser than Daniel ; there is no secret that they can hide from thee. With thy wisdom and thine understanding thou hast gotten thee riches, and hast gotten gold and silver in thy treasures. By thy wisdom and by thy traffick hast thou increased thy riches ; and thine heart is lifted up because of thy riches. Therefore thus saith the Lord God :— Because thou hast set thine heart as the heart of God :—

“ Wilt thou yet say before him that slayeth thee, I am God.”*

But Babylon is the chief prophetic prototype of the great mystical empire of wickedness, the empire of commerce, the fornicator with all nations, the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth. Babylon was, in its eminence, the great emporium of eastern merchandize, the centre of Asiatic commerce ; and it is expressly described by Ezekiel as “ A land of traffick, a city of merchants.”†

Of Babylon, the same descriptions are used which are applied to the last earthly empire.

“ Thou saidst, I shall be a lady for ever.

“ Hear now this, thou that art given to pleasures, that dwellest carelessly ; that sayest in thy heart, I am,

* Ezek. xxviii. 2—6, 9. It is obvious that the characteristic pretension of the present age is that of learning and wisdom. In Babylon also, which furnishes the other type of the last empire, the Chaldeans were eminently distinguished for their learning and wisdom.

† Ezek. xvii. 4.

and none else beside me : I shall not sit as a widow, neither shall I know the loss of children.

“ Thou hast trusted in thy wickedness ; thou hast said, None seeth me. Thy wisdom and thy knowledge it hath perverted thee ; and thou hast said in thy heart, I am, and none else beside me.

“ Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth.

“ Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels.

“ Thus shall they be unto thee with whom thou hast laboured, even thy merchants from thy youth.”*

The re-establishment of this Kingdom of Commerce as the Kingdom of Wickedness, and identified with the empire of Babylon, is prophesied of in Zechariah, in the 5th chapter. After prefiguring the establishment of Christ's kingdom—the publication of the Gospel—under the figure of a “ Flying Roll : ” written, like the tables of the Mosaic covenant, on both sides,—he proceeds to prefigure the foundation of the Antichristian kingdom, in opposition to the kingdom of Christ and the purity of the Gospel :—

“ Then the angel that talked with me went forth, and said unto me, Lift up now thine eyes, and see what is this that goeth forth. And I said, What is it ? And he said, This is an *ephah* that goeth forth.” An “ ephah ” is the symbol of trade and commerce :—“ Just balances, just weights, a just ‘ ephah ’ ”—Lev. xix. 36. “ Just balances and a just ‘ ephah ’ ”—Ezek. xlv. 10.

* Isai. xlvii. 7, &c.

It is also the subject of commercial dishonesty, and wickedness in trade:—"making the 'ephah' small"—Amos, viii. 5.

"He said moreover, This is their resemblance (their eye,* idol, their object of desire and worship) through all the earth.

"And behold, there was lifted up a talent of lead:—and this is a woman that sitteth in the midst of the ephah. And he said, This is wickedness:”—namely, the measure of men's dealings is full of wickedness and deceit:—"and he cast the weight of lead upon the mouth thereof.

"Then lifted I up my eyes, and looked, and behold there came out two women, and the wind was in their wings,"—to signify the swift growth of this wicked power, and that it was to be planted at a great distance from the seat of the then existing empire of the world:—"for they had wings like the wings of a stork; and they lifted up the ephah between the earth and the heaven,"—it was to be raised to an exceedingly eminent and exalted empire.

"Then said I to the angel that talked with me, Whither do these bear the ephah? And he said unto me, *To build it an house in the land of 'Shinar';* and it shall be established and set there upon her own base." Therefore, wickedness in the ephah,—extortion in

* The word is "eye," oculus, according to all the old interpreters. And most of them give it this signification, namely, the object of desire: *objectum oculi, puta res visa in quam omnes conjiciunt oculos. Oculi eorum non aliud respiciunt.* "If thine eye be single:—if thine eye be evil."

trade and commerce,—is the ruling principle in the Antichristian empire; and this empire is the Babylon of the Apocalypse.*

* I am fortified in this interpretation of the “ephah,” and of “wickedness” taking her seat in it, by some of the ancient interpreters. Cornelius a Lapide says on this passage, in his Commentary, “*Utitur symbolo amphoræ, vel epha et modii, quia in his mensuris fraudem et furtum, de quo v. 3, faciebant Judæi: unde Chald. vertit, isti sunt populi qui accipiebant et dabant mensura falsa. Et mox: Propter hoc condemnati et in exilium translati sunt, quia accipiebant et dabant mensura falsa.*”

But the comment of St. Gregory is the most important and conclusive on the whole passage. “*Symbolicè, S. Gregor. lib. 14, Moral. c. 26, per Amphoram accipit Avaritiam, in quam oculi omnium mundanorum respiciunt; ut, cum ad cætera sint cæci, oculos solum habere videantur ad intuendas amphoras, et mensuras emendi vendendique, ac cætera lucri instrumenta. Hanc duæ mulieres, scilicet superbia et inanis gloria, in altum levant. Audi ipsummet S. Gregor. totum hoc amphoræ symbolum explicantem moraliter: Volens Deus prophetæ ostendere humanum genus, et qua ab eo maximè culpa dilabatur, per imaginem amphoræ quasi patens os avaritiæ designavit: avaritia quippe velut amphora est, quæ os cordis in ambitu apertum tenet. Et dixit: Hæc est oculus eorum in universa terra. * * Unde recte de hac eadem avaritia dicitur: hoc est oculus eorum in universa terra. Ecce talentum plumbi portabatur. Quid est talentum plumbi, nisi ex eadem avaritia pondus peccati? * * Impietas in medio amphoræ projicitur: quia nimirum in avaritia semper impietas tenetur. Et misit massam plumbi in os ejus. Massa plumbi in os mulieris mittitur: quia scilicet impietas avaritiæ peccati sui pondere gravatur. * * Levant ergo istæ mulieres amphoram inter cælum et terram, quia superbia et inanis gloria mentem per avaritiam honoris captam ita elevant, ut quoslibet proximos despicientes quasi ima deserant, et alta gloriantes petant. * * Amphora ergo levata inter terram et cælum dicitur: quia avari quique per superbiam atque inanem gloriam et proximos juxta se despiciunt, et superiora quæ ultra ipsos sunt, nullatenus apprehendunt. Inter terram itaque et cælum feruntur: quia nec æqualitatem fraternitatis in infimis per charitatem tenent, nec tamen summa pertingere sese extollendo prævalent. * * Sciendum*

We come now to consider and compare the denouncements of punishment against Babylon and Tyrus : both the typical and the anti-typical. Of the Babylon of former time it is said—

“ How is the hammer of the whole earth cut asunder and broken ! How is Babylon become a desolation among the nations ?

“ Behold I am against thee, O thou most proud : for thy day is come, the time that I will visit thee.*

“ A sword is upon the Chaldeans, and upon the inhabitants of Babylon, and upon her princes, and upon her wise men.

“ A sword is upon the liars ; and they shall dote : a sword is upon her mighty men ; and they shall be dismayed.

quoque est quod Sennaar latissima vallis est, in qua turris a superbientibus ædificari cœperat, quæ linguarum facta diversitate destructa est : quæ scilicet turris Babylon dicta est, pro ipsa videlicet confusione mentium et linguarum. Nec immerito ibi avaritiæ amphora ponitur, ubi Babylon, id est, confusio, ædificatur : quia dum per avaritiam et impietatem certum est omnia mala exurgere, recte hæc ipsa avaritia atque impietas in confusione perhibentur habitare.”—(*Cornel. a Lap. Comment. in loco.*)

The Targum and Pembellus also favour this interpretation. “Epha est instrumentum emptionis et venditionis, adeoque, per synecdochen, injustitiam omnium Judæorum in commerciis suis apte denotat. Huic favet, quòd hic respici possit præcedens visio de furto et perjurio ; et quòd Targum sic παραφραζει, *Hi sunt populus qui falsis mensuris usus est in emendo et vendendo.*”—(*Pembellus.*)—*Poli Synopsis, in loco.*

Bishop Lowth says, an ephah, being the measure of dry things, denotes the Jews’ unjust dealings in buying and selling.—*On Zech.* 5, 6.

* Jerem. l. 23, 31.

“ A sword is upon their horses, and upon their chariots, and upon all the mingled people that are in the midst of her ; and they shall become as women : a sword is upon her treasures ; and they shall be robbed.

“ A drought is upon her waters ; and they shall be dried up : for it is the land of graven images, and they are mad upon their idols.

“ At the noise of the taking of Babylon the earth is moved, and the cry is heard among the nations.*

“ Flee out of the midst of Babylon, and deliver every man his soul. Be not cut off in her iniquity. For this is the time of the Lord’s vengeance ; he will render unto her a recompence.

“ Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord’s hand, that hath made all the earth drunken : the nations have drunk of her wine ; therefore the nations are mad.

“ Babylon is suddenly fallen and destroyed : howl for her ; take balm for her pain, if so be she may be healed.

“ We would have healed Babylon ; but she is not healed.†

“ O thou that dwellest upon many waters, abundant in treasures, thine end is come, and the measure of thy covetousness.

“ Behold, I am against thee, O destroying mountain, which destroyedst all the earth ; and I will stretch out mine hand upon thee, and roll thee down from the rocks, and will make thee a burnt mountain.

“ And they shall not take of thee a stone for a corner,

* Verses 35—38, 46.

† Jerem. li. 6—9.

nor a stone for foundations ; but thou shall be desolate for ever, saith the Lord.

“ The daughter of Babylon is like a threshing floor, it is time to thresh her : yet a little while, and the time of her harvest shall come.

“ I will dry up her sea, and make her springs dry.

“ How is the praise of the whole earth surprised ! how is Babylon become an astonishment among the nations.

“ And I will make drunk her princes, and her wise men, her captains, and her rulers, and her mighty men ; and they shall sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the king, whose name is the Lord of Hosts.

“ Thou shalt bind a stone to it, and cast it into the midst of Euphrates.

“ And thou shalt say, Thus shall Babylon sink, and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her.”*

But the judgments against Tyre are still more expressly similar to those which are pronounced in Revelations against the mystical Babylon ; as if plainly to show, that it is a merchant power which is there prophesied of.

“ Thus saith the Lord God to Tyre :— Shall not the isles shake at the sound of thy fall ; when the wounded cry, when the slaughter is made in the midst of thee ?

“ Then all the princes of the sea shall come down from their thrones, and lay away their robes, and put off their brodered garments ; they shall clothe themselves with trembling ; they shall sit upon the ground,

* Jerem. li. 13, 25, 26, 33, 36, 41, 57, 63, 64.

and shall tremble at every moment, and be astonished at thee—(wail over thee. Septuag.)

“And they shall take up a lamentation for thee, and say to thee, How art thou destroyed, that wast inhabited of seafaring men, the renowned city, which wast strong in the sea, which caused her terror to all who frequent it. (Septuag.)

“Now shall ‘the isles’ tremble in the day of thy fall; yea, ‘the isles that are in the sea,’ shall be troubled at thy departure.*

“Now, thou son of man, take up a lamentation for Tyrus; and say unto Tyrus,

“O thou that art situate at the entry of the sea, which art a merchant of the people for many isles. Thus saith the Lord God, O Tyrus, thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty. Thy borders are in the midst of the seas, thy builders have perfected thy beauty. They have made all thy ship-boards of fir trees of Senir; they have taken cedars from Lebanon, to make masts for thee. Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars; the company of the Ashurites have made thy benches of ivory, brought out of the isles of Chittim. Fine linen, with brodered work from Egypt, was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail; blue and purple from the isles of Elishah was that which covered thee. The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy mariners: thy wise men, O Tyrus, that were in thee, were thy pilots. The ancients of Gebal and the wise men thereof, were in thee thy calkers; all the ships of the sea with their mariners were in thee to occupy thy

* Ezek. xxvi. 15—18.

merchandize. They of Persia, and of Lud, and of Phut were in thine army, thy men of war: they hanged the shield and helmet in thee; they set forth thy comeliness. The men of Arvad with thine army were upon thy walls round about; and the Gammadims were in thy towers: they hanged their shields upon thy walls round about; they have made thy beauty perfect. Tarshish was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kind of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs. Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, they were thy merchants: they traded the persons of men and vessels of brass in thy market. They of the house of Togarmah traded in thy fairs with horses and horsemen and mules. The men of Dedan were thy merchants; many isles were the merchandise of thine hand: they brought thee for a present horns of ivory and ebony. Syria was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of the wares of thy making: they occupied in thy fairs with emeralds, purple, and brodered work, and fine linen, and coral, and agate. Judah [the Jews,] and the land of Israel, they were thy merchants: they traded in thy market wheat of Minnith, and pannag, and honey, and oil, and balm. Damascus was thy merchant in the multitude of the wares of thy making, for the multitude of all riches; in the wine of Helbon and white wool. Dan also and Javan going to and fro occupied in thy fairs: bright iron, cassia, and calamus, were in thy market. Dedan was thy merchant in precious clothes for chariots. Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar, they occupied with thee in lambs, and rams, and goats; in these were they thy merchants. The merchants of Sheba and

Raamah, they were thy merchants: they occupied in thy fairs with chief of all spices, and with all precious stones, and gold. Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Asshur, and Chilmad, were thy merchants.

“These were thy merchants in all sorts of things, in blue clothes, and broidered work, and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords, and made of cedar, among thy merchandise. The ships of Tarshish did sing of thee in thy market: and thou wast replenished, and made very glorious in the midst of the seas.

“Thy rowers have brought thee into great waters, the east wind hath broken thee in the midst of the sea.” Thy avarice and adventure hath overstepped all bounds of discretion; thy eagerness and competition and speculation in trading, and the multiplying of thy manufactures, have been forced and encouraged by thee, like a ship crowding more and more sail, or steam, in a race, till the vessel and engine have become unmanageable, and thou hast foundered all in one moment, upon encountering a sudden storm, or unforeseen difficulties in navigation; and become a total wreck, without saving a man, or a bale of goods, or a spar.

“Thy riches, and thy fairs, thy merchandise, thy mariners, and thy pilots, thy calkers, and the occupiers of thy merchandise, and all thy men of war, that are in thee, [on board thee], and in all thy company which is in the midst of thee, shall fall into the midst of the seas, in the day of thy ruin. The suburbs shall shake at the sound of the cry of thy pilots. And all that handle the oar, the mariners, and all the pilots of the

sea, shall come down from their ships, they shall stand upon the land; and shall cause their voice to be heard against thee, [in their lamentations over thee,] and shall cry bitterly, and shall cast up dust upon their heads, they shall wallow themselves in the ashes; and they shall make themselves utterly bald for thee, and gird them with sackcloth, and they shall weep for thee with bitterness of heart and bitter wailing. And in their wailing they shall take up a lamentation for thee, and lament over thee, saying, What city is like Tyrus, like the destroyed in the midst of the sea. When thy wares went forth out of the seas, [Septuag. What reward hast thou gotten thyself from the sea?] thou filledst many people; thou didst enrich the kings of the earth with the multitude of thy riches and of thy merchandise. In the time when thou shalt be broken by the seas in depths of the waters, thy merchandise and all thy company in the midst of thee shall fall. All the inhabitants of the isles shall be astonished at thee, and their kings shall be sore afraid, they shall be troubled in their countenance. The merchants among the people [nations] shall hiss at thee; thou shalt be a terror [a ruin, Septuag.], and never shalt be any more.”*

When the corresponding denouncements of punishment against the Babylon of the last days, are read beside these descriptions of the judgments of Tyre and Babylon, it seems hardly possible to doubt that it is another corresponding commercial empire, immersed in all the sins of covetousness and pride, and luxury and vainglory, and trading abominations, against which the

* Ezek. xxvii.

wrath and ruin, denounced upon the mystical Babylon in Revelations, are directed. The bitterness of these plagues, and the distinctive characters of the power upon which they are to fall, are described at much length in the 17th and 18th chapters of Revelations.

“And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying unto me, Come hither; I will shew unto thee the judgment of the Great Whore, that sitteth upon many waters: with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication; and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication.

“So he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness.* And I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads, and ten horns.”

The woman is not the beast; but she sits upon it. Also, she sits upon “many waters,” and upon “the beast.”—Therefore, the “many waters” are “the beast;” according as it is immediately afterwards described,—“The seven heads are seven mountains,” or kingdoms; “on which the woman sitteth; and there are seven kings.” “And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings; which have received no kingdom as yet, but receive power as kings at one time, in union with the beast.”—Namely, this is the Rome revived, the Romano-Christian empire: consisting of the indefinite number of

* It is only those who withdraw themselves from the world, its fashions, and feelings, and impressions, who can perceive the colour and character and features of this hideous apostacy, and consummate form of wickedness.

different sovereign powers, which have grown up out of the stump of the ancient Roman empire:—namely, “all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth,” with which the Babilonish whore hath committed fornication.—And these are the “many waters” upon which the whore sitteth: according as it is just afterwards described, “The waters which thou sawest, where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues.” And all these sovereign kingdoms and nations, thus represented as “the ten horns,” “these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate, and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire.” “For God hath put into their hearts to fulfil his will, and to agree, and give their kingdom unto the beast:”—so that the beast and the ten kings, who were formerly in union and in league, shall afterwards fight against the whore, and destroy her:—the “many waters” upon which she rode proudly, as a ship in full sail, shall swallow her up in the midst of them; as was prophesied of the sudden destruction of Tyre at the height of her glory.

The mystical whore of Babylon is thus described, in the midst of her glory and sinfulness, on the eve of her sudden annihilation.

“And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication:—and upon her forehead was a name written, ‘Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth.’ And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs [wit-

nesses] of Jesus. And when I saw her, I wondered with great admiration."

The fall of this great Money-empire from its towering height of prosperity, has not been altogether unforeseen, or unpredicted. Young has said, of the British empire, comparing it with Tyre, "her fall is to be feared; unless the fate of most former empires betray us into mistake; and that national poison which has ever proved mortal, is mortal no more." And again, of its present state of boasted splendour and luxury, "Most nations have been gayest, when nearest their end; and like the taper in the socket, have blazed as they expired."* "The night of my pleasure hath he turned into fear unto me. Prepare the table, watch in the watch-tower, eat, drink; Arise, ye princes, and anoint the shield"—of the taking of Babylon.† "For thus hath the Lord God said unto me, Go, set a watchman, let him declare what he seeth. And he saw a chariot with a couple of horsemen, a chariot of asses, and a chariot of camels; and he hearkened diligently with much heed. And he cried [as] a lion,—My lord, I stand continually upon the watch-tower in the daytime, and I am set in my watch whole nights, and behold here cometh a chariot of men, with a couple of horsemen. And he answered and said, Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground."‡

The doom of covetousness and money-worship is more repeatedly and heavily pronounced than almost

* Young, Lett. 2d.

† Isai. xxi. 4, 5.

‡ Ib. 6—9.

any other judgment in Scripture; and apparently with reference to an ultimate consummation of the oppressions and cruelties, and idolatries and apostacies, which shall grow up out of it.—

“Woe to him that coveteth an evil covetousness to his house, that he may set his nest on high, that he may be delivered from the power of evil.” “Because thou (Babylon) hast spoiled many nations, all the remnant of the people shall spoil thee; because of men’s blood, and for the violence of the land, of the city, and of all that dwell therein.” “Thou hast consulted shame to thy house, by cutting off many people, and hast sinned against thy soul [against thy own life, so that it is forfeited]. For the stone shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it.*

“Many shall follow their pernicious ways; by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of. And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you: whose judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not.”†

“Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for the miseries that are coming upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are motheaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you:”—our difficulties and distresses in money-matters, which are increasing as we become a richer nation, are a witness against us, and the principles upon which we found our strength; but

* Hab. ii. 8—11.

† 2 Pet. ii. 2, 3.

we are blind, and cannot see the sign:—"and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together in the last days."*

"The righteous shall see, and shall laugh at him: saying, Lo, this is the man that made not God his strength; but trusted in the abundance of his riches."†

"Depart ye cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels: for I was an hungered and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me not in: naked and ye clothed me not: sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not." "The poor," says the Homily, "are in Christ's stead."‡ And Archbishop Eanbald said, "The hand of the poor man is the treasury of Christ."§ If this be so; and Mr. Sadler says, "The whole of the modern system—in agriculture, in manufactures, in commerce, in shipping, in the currency, even in science—is an attack upon the privileges of labouring poverty:—if this be true also; and the poor are as systematically oppressed as they ever were in Athens, or in Rome, or in Judæa, or in the worst periods of covetousness and luxury, and oppression; then is the reign of riches and commerce expressly the subject of this curse, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me. And these shall go away into everlasting punishment."||

* James, v. 1—3.

† Psalm lii. 6, 7.

‡ Hom on Almsgiving, part i.

§ Churton's History of the Church, p. 184.

|| Matt. xxv.

The manner and circumstances of the final destruction are described at length in the 18th of Revelations.

“And after these things” (the above description of the great whore), “I saw another angel come down from heaven, having great power; and the earth was lightened with his glory. And he cried mightily with a strong voice,” (as Daniel before Belshazzar,) “saying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and the cage of every unclean and hateful bird. For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies. And I heard another voice from heaven saying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues. For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities. Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double according to her works; in the cup which she hath filled fill to her double. How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her: for she saith in her heart, I sit a queen (of the seas), and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow. Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine, and she shall be utterly burned with fire; for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her. And the kings of the earth, who have committed fornication and lived deliciously with her, shall bewail her, and lament for her, when they shall see the smoke of her burning,

standing afar off for the fear of her torment, saying, Alas, alas, that great city Babylon, that mighty city! for in one hour is thy judgment come. And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man buyeth their merchandise any more; the merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyine wood, and all manner vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble, and cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and bodies and souls of men. And the fruits that thy soul lusted after are departed from thee, and all things which were dainty and goodly are departed from thee, and thou shalt find them no more at all. The merchants of these things which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off, for the fear of her torment, weeping, and wailing, and saying, Alas, alas, that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls! for in one hour so great riches is come to nought. And every shipmaster, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off, and cried, when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying, What city is like unto this great city!" "The rich man's wealth is his strong city."* "If I have made gold my hope, or have said to the fine gold, Thou art my confidence:"†—"And they cast dust on their heads, and cried, weeping and wailing, saying,

* Prov. x. 15.

† Job, xxxi. 24.

Alas, alas, that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea by reason of her costliness; for in one hour is she made desolate. Rejoice over her, thou heaven (the hierarchy and church), and ye holy apostles and prophets; for God hath avenged you on her. And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great mill-stone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all. And the voice of harpers, and musicians, and of pipers, and trumpeters, shall be heard no more at all in thee; and no craftsman, of whatsoever craft he be, shall be found any more in thee; and the sound of a mill-stone shall be heard no more at all in thee; and the light of a candle shall shine no more at all in thee; and the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride shall be heard no more at all in thee: for thy merchants were the great men of the earth; for by thy sorceries were all nations deceived. And in her was found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth."

ESSAY XVI.

THE NOISOME AND GRIEVOUS SORE.

"UPON THE MEN WHICH HAD THE MARK OF THE BEAST, AND UPON THEM WHICH WORSHIPPED HIS IMAGE."—REV. xvi. 2.

CRUELITIES AND HORRORS IN CIVILIZED FRANCE—RECENT CRUELITIES AND HORRORS—CRIMES AND DISORDERS OF MODERN SOCIETY, IN ENGLAND—IN FRANCE—SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION—CIVIL WARS AND REVOLUTIONS—COMMERCIAL DISTRESSES—MISERIES OF THE WORK-PEOPLE—DEMORALIZATION OF THE WORKING-CLASSES—NATIONAL DEBTS—COMMERCIAL FRAUDS—AMERICAN BANKS—INCREASE OF CRIME—PAUPERISM—THE NEW POOR-LAW—THE WORKHOUSE TEST—ITS EFFECTS.

WHEN we admire the fair features of perfect beauty, we can hardly believe that any dark passions should lurk beneath, or could ever disturb them. When we witness the gay and graceful step with which society moves: the playful smile of civilized life: her tasteful dress, her elegant manner, her fair and soft complexion:—we could hardly believe that any thing meretricious even in thought could blemish such a model of perfection. Can it be then, that the more becoming the dress, the more bright and brilliant the skin, the more studied and seductive the manner,—the more dangerous the attraction and company, and the more certain the sign of impurity? Rome was never more highly civilized than at the time when she was most corrupt: nay,

brutal:—Then she, even her women, delighted in the conflicts and blood of gladiators. Spain was in her palmy and most civilized state, when her refined females revelled intensely in the bloody bull-fights, and all their savagery. Spain is said even now to be such a polished nation, that they take off the hat to a beggar, and even the highwayman robs with the most perfect civility. There is nothing inconsistent between the utmost refinement of education and manners, and the grossest depravity. We have seen evidence given in courts of justice, of the extreme refinement of a person charged with the most brutal of offences;—but it was no testimony of innocence; if it were not even possibly an evidence tending to the contrary. We may walk the streets of London in a fair day, and be wholly ignorant of the masses of filth and corruption, which the mighty organization of underground sewers is draining off continually; and as if there were no creation of mud or filth in this highly refined and civilized metropolis. Contrary to the laws of matter, the close contact of dense masses of people in highly civilized towns, tends strangely to disunite them, and to make them strangers to one another. They know nothing of the beggary and famine in the nearest courts and alleys; which does not exist the less because they sweep and banish them from the principal streets:—they know nothing of their next neighbour's joy or sorrow, or agony, or villany. Nay, a man died, and his death was unknown to his fellow-lodgers, till four days afterwards.* We have also our brutal exhibitions, on a par with the pampered

* Morning Herald, December 18, 1840.

Spaniards; and showing a revival of the taste among us of civilized and corrupted Rome. Crowded theatres-full of spectators, witnessed, with morbid excitement and shuddering delight, the daily encounters of Van Amburg with his wild beasts: though every one among them felt convinced that he would one day be torn to pieces;—and in fact he was frightfully torn by them several times. Thousands of persons went to witness the feat of Samuel Scott pretending to hang himself on Waterloo Bridge, and performing all the convulsions of a man in the agonies of death:—and the agonies were real; for after the subsidence of applause and excitement, he was found to be indeed dead.

It is fairly questioned “whether the most barbarous ages could show such scenes of horror and bloodshed as have been witnessed during the last (enlightened!) half century, and of which we have too much cause at this day to dread the repetition. Nay, we may go further, and assert, that ignorance and superstition, and fraud, are as grossly and mischievously prevalent in our own times, as at any former period of the world’s history that can be mentioned.”

The revolution, in refined and philosophic France, discovered and developed passions and tastes far more cruel and deep-seated, than anything that history had before given evidence of, during a similar period of time. The populace turned executioners; not for once, or on several occasions of excitement; but systematically, and for a continuance. Their ready gibbet was everywhere at hand in the street lamps. Every one

against whom there was only a private pique, or even a jest, was hurried thither. Murder, if at any time, was then cold-blooded. The cord broke twice on one occasion; and a third time they hung up their victim.* M. Berthier, son-in-law to the last, “after undergoing the utmost outrages, was brought to the Hotel de Ville, where the mob presented to him the head of his parent streaming with blood. He averted his eyes, and they continued to press it towards his face.” The same outrage was inflicted on a wife: they pressed the dead lips of her husband to hers, when she fainted! During the assault of the Bastille, “the daughter of one of the officers was seized by the crowd. They proposed to burn her alive, unless the place was surrendered, and had actually placed her on a mattras and set fire to it, when the attempt was frustrated by one of the French guards.” These deeds were accompanied with merriment and laughter. “The most cruel tortures were inflicted on the victims who fell into their hands. Many had the soles of their feet roasted over a fire before being put to death; others had their hair and eyebrows burnt off, while they destroyed their dwellings; after which they were drowned in the nearest fish-pond. The Marquis of Barras was cut into little bits before his wife, far advanced in pregnancy, who died shortly after of horror.” “M. de Belzunce, who endeavoured to restrain the excesses of his regiment, was put to death with the most aggravated circumstances of cruelty; his remains were literally *devoured* by his murderers.”† These

* M. Foulon, aged 70. † Alison on the French Revolution.

things preceded, and were independent of the wholesale murders of the reign of terror.

Were these horrors peculiar to the French, and to the French revolution? or on the contrary, are they attendant upon the general revolutionizing spirit of the present day; and connected and consistent with the theoretical philosophy, and stoical experimentalism, which would sacrifice millions to the proof of a problem in political economy, and look with scientific, calm placidity, upon the agonies of a dying animal, through whose struggles they are experimenting, with knife and red-hot irons, upon the phenomena of life or death, or health or disease, or animal mechanism or galvanism? We shall best see by some brief enumeration and comparison.

We are not yet arrived at the last actual blessings of revolutionary struggle, and operative practical freedom. But in Spain the chain is continued, which is to bring down to us at last the paradisiacal condition and delights, for which we daily worship our god, and sacrifice to him with offerings and praises, and incense of self-love, and self-applause, and self-gratification. The Durango decree doomed to death in cold-blood all the prisoners taken in war by Don Carlos; and this was in revenge for similar atrocities committed by the government of his rival the Queen of Spain. The capture of Ripoll by the Carlist troops presents the following circumstance.

“On the 28th” (May 1839), “Ripoll was entirely burned, and more than 900 persons perished. The most horrible cruelties were committed. Twenty five women, who had taken refuge in a house, were bayo-

netted by four Carlist soldiers. A mother, surrounded by five children, the eldest nine years old, saw them torn from her arms, and massacred with the butt end of a musket. One of them was flung from a window of the second story ; and the woman herself is dead of the wounds received in defending her children.”

The following account was everywhere current at the time, and remains uncontradicted : “ We quote the correspondent of a journal that advocates the Queen’s cause, and who, speaking of the assassinations of unconvicted prisoners, says—the highest classes, even the ladies, prize, as a patriotic act, the eating of O’Donnel’s body.—I myself saw several persons eating O’Donnel’s flesh, after having cut off his feet and head.”*

We have not yet arrived at these ultimatums of philosophical philanthropy. But have we not ? Do not the planned and organized and open assassinations in Ireland, for any private pique or political jealousy : the associations for murder, and that with cruelty, and everywhere : does not the procuring of the execution of an innocent man, by a priest, by instigating a dying murdered man to perjury,—bring it near enough home to us ? But the English, doubtless, are incapable of such atrocities, even under political excitement : much less for private malice or self-interest. Are they so incapable ? Let us test their capabilities by example.

In modern England the system had its growth, of murdering men as a trade, and selling their bodies, to satisfy the requisitions of science in the dissecting-

* Morning Herald, Feb. 8, 1836. O’Donnel was a Carlist officer.

room : for the good of human society and philanthropy. The surgeons even confessed to their suspicion of the practice; and what could their science have been worth if they could not distinguish between a murdered man and a diseased one !—But philosophy justified it. These commercial murders, committed upon the perfect self-adjusting principle of supply and demand, gave the new name of “Burking” to our vocabulary, from one of the principal perpetrators.

Robert Sandys was convicted at the Chester summer assizes, 1841, of poisoning his own children, in order to get the burial money allowed by his club.

The Ashton sawyers formed themselves into a union, for the purpose of murdering those of their craft who accepted lower wages than they prescribed; and in effect they murdered several, before their conspiracy was detected.

The crimes and vices of the present age are as deep and dreadful as at *any* former period of history. Would we might say that they were less frequent and general; or that we were most exempt from them in England. The moral, no less than the physical, condition of our manufacturing towns, exceeds every thing that has ever been described or believed in degradation. Within a limited district of one of the towns in Cheshire, one inhabitant more respectable than the rest told the clergyman of the place, in the presence of his own wife, that, “barring unnatural crime and murder, every crime and wickedness was not only committed *but rife* there.” His wife rejoined, “You need not except mur-

der." "No," he answered, "not secret murder ;—I mean open murder."

Incest is common in that district. And this is only an example among manufacturing towns. The crime of Gibeah is equalled at this day. The incest of Lot has been exceeded ; and that in the sphere of fortune and better education.

Let us turn our eyes to the political and outward condition of society. It is described, even by the ministers of the crown, and by other public men, as vicious, desperate, and disorganized. The cool and cautious Lord John Russell spoke in 1839, after the riots and burning at Birmingham, of "assemblies consisting of three, four, and sometimes five thousand persons, marching in the way I have described, and terrifying persons from resorting to their usual thoroughfares."* And again, of the national petition in the same year, "Those persons, I say, who have presented this petition, have been found going through the country from town to town, and from place to place, exhorting the people in the most violent revolutionary language,—language not exceeded in violence and atrocity in the worst times of the French Revolution, to subvert the laws by armed force."†

The organization of the new police force, hitherto not required, is itself sufficient evidence of the increased disorder and distraction of society.

Mr. Slaney gives an epitome of the successive insur-

* Speech, July 23, 1839.

† Speech, July 12, 1839.

rections, each increasing upon the last in violence, since 1812, in his speech of Feb. 4, 1840; viz. of the Luddites, in 1812; the seamen and colliers on the Tyne and Wear, in 1815; at Manchester, in 1816; of Brandreth and his associates, in 1821; the strikes in Gloucestershire, and at Kidderminster, in 1828 and 1829; in Yorkshire, in 1826; in 1827 and 1828, the delegates of the trades; the burnings, in 1830; the working-men's association and the Charter, in 1836 and 1838; the Convention of Delegates, in 1839, &c. &c. And he adds, "We have thus seen that discontents in various forms have shown themselves in different populous towns and districts for many years past, increasing in frequency in later times. What is the practical lesson we should draw from these symptoms, showing themselves from year to year? It is, that there is something wrong in the social state of many of these persons."

The Bishop of London used the following language, in the House of Lords, on March the 5th, 1841, on occasion of the public masquerades in Drury Lane theatre, celebrated in Lent.* "He was told that the former exhibition had been attended by circumstances of the most gross and indecent kind; so gross indeed, that

* The public theatres were first opened for dramatic performances on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent, in consequence of a vote of the House of Commons in 1839. In this and similar instances, and also in the vote of 30,000*l.* for a particular system of education, contrary to a vote and address of the House of Lords, the Commons have shown a resolution to usurp the whole powers of the legislature. It is plain, from these and other examples, how they will use it when ultimately they have got it.

the more respectable part of the audience manifested their feelings by groans and hisses. It did not however appear that the disapprobation thus very properly expressed had produced the desired effect, since the exhibition was to be repeated. The indecencies to which he alluded occurred in certain dances, executed by French dancers and prostitutes. Such performances, he believed, would not be tolerated, on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent, even in Roman Catholic countries; and he hoped that the morals of Protestants were not so much relaxed as to view them in a more favourable light. The Protestant religion had fallen very far short of the strictness of the Roman Catholic religion in that respect, and he trusted that it would not be suffered to fall still lower." "He believed, the entertainment was to be repeated that evening, at the same theatre."*

Let us observe the corresponding operation which is going on in France; of whose political friendship we are so fond, whose revolutionary career we are following so closely, and with whose manners we are so amalgamating. The licentiousness of the French novels has been exposed in a late number of the Quarterly Review. Their general manners and condition are thus epitomized by a correspondent of one of the leading newspapers: "It is impossible not to admit the degeneracy of the present times." "No day passes over our heads, without seeing in the newspapers brief or detailed accounts of the perpetration of atrocities which I would not sully your paper with designating. All the

* The 5th of March, 1841, fell on a Friday—in Lent.

crimes which a total absence of belief in a Supreme Being, avarice, licentiousness, and depravity are calculated to produce, are of daily occurrence, if you believe the press. The title of an offence referred to in the *Droit*, or *Gazette des Tribunaux*, of the day before yesterday was, ‘Assassination, adultery, parricide, infanticide, and poisoning!’” “The writers of the public journals do not even once and away chastise or reprehend this vice and immorality.” “There is more stabbing in Paris than in Spain, Portugal, and Italy.” “Some people ascribe the change to increasing infidelity; and that would fully account for it. Others accuse the press of positively and negatively producing this demoralization,—first, by representing vice and immorality in amiable or laughable points of view; and secondly, by totally annulling anything like reasoning, remonstrance, or reprimand.” “That irreligion and indecency have become associated, and have ceased to shock anybody, (it would appear,) is perhaps best proved by the goings on in the theatres. The blasphemous and shocking titles selected for dramatic productions, within a few years, have already been referred to in your correspondence; but I have not seen it remarked, that the new favourite dance, at the fancy and masked balls at the Théâtre de la Renaissance, transcends all that preceded it. The title of this dance is *Galop infernal du dernier Jugement!* The costumes of the dancers and their postures are copied from Michael Angelo’s picture of ‘The last Judgment.’”*

* Times, Feb. 8, 1841.

What with Socialists, Chartists, Neologians, Pantheists, Unitarians, Atheists, and other societies and individuals setting at nought all laws of God and man, and all bonds of human customs and affections, is the language of one of our divines at all exaggerated, when saying, that "The demons of infidelity, blasphemy, confusion and sedition, are busy in their dark deeds, and would gladly overturn all that makes life happy in Church and State."*

The unity of the whole family of Christendom seems to have resolved itself in a system of disunion and disorganization, of mutual hatred, jealousy, opposition, and infinite subdivision, by which all seem to turn their hands simultaneously to the only object in which they agree, which is, mutual and self-destruction. There were said to be 60 sects of Puritans in time of the Commonwealth. Croly says, there are 70 sects now in England; which must be below the truth. There are said to have been 30,000 sects and denominations of Christians altogether; which is exactly the number which the Pantheon of the Roman world is said to have attained to in its perfection.† The advances too are greater and greater towards infidelity. We cannot here enter into the forms in which it shows itself, in all minute topics and circumstances. But the disciples of Calvin have generally turned Socinians, all over the

* Marriott's Sermon on "Thy Kingdom come," i. 258. This quotation has been used before. Some other repetitions will be found in this Essay, of matters which have been used to illustrate particular points. I have thought it better, to enforce the subject in hand, than to follow a rule of composition.

† Varro. ap. Gray's Connect. i. 135, ed. 1819.

world; beginning with his own church at Geneva. Baxter's followers are said mostly to have turned Unitarians. Ostler speaks of the 200 dissenting congregations which have lapsed into Socinianism.* This must be far below the actual number. Calvinists and Quakers and Presbyterians turn Unitarians in great numbers; and the use of their chapels is changed accordingly. A Presbyterian chapel is now almost everywhere in England synonymous with a Unitarian chapel.

Though foreign wars are somewhat less frequent than in former time, the whole world is nearly one scene of civil war and internal revolution. The forebodings of Mr. Canning are being fulfilled, "I fear the next war which shall be kindled in Europe will be a war not so much of armies as of opinions. The consequence of letting loose the passions, at present chained and confined, would be to produce a scene of desolation, which no man can contemplate without horror. I dread the recurrence of hostilities in any part of Europe; and would bear much, and forbear long, rather than let loose the furies of war: not knowing whom they may reach, or how far their ravages may extend."†

In Europe, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Greece, have not only been once within a few years, but they must almost be said to be the continual subject of rebellion and revolution. Of Switzerland, Prussia, Hanover, Ireland, England, scarcely less can be said. The two Americas have been agitated from the north to the south; unless the habitual fever and agitation of

* Church and State, pp. 20, 21.

† Speech, H. C. December 1826.

the United States, must be looked upon as health and repose to a republican. But Canada, Texas, and Mexico, nearly fill up the rest of the outline of North America. Of the South American States, with one exception, nearly the same general description may be given. The example of one may nearly serve for the rest. "A few years since, the old Republic of Columbia broke into three pieces, which are the republics of Venezuela, New Grenada, and Ecuador. New Grenada has been subdivided, but into how many fractions is not yet known." "The different provinces of Pamplona, Tunja, Socarro, &c. simultaneously declared themselves independent states." "The process, as in the former case, was revolution. This, in the South American republics, is the remedy for all diseases."*

The standing catalogue of revolutions is coextensive with the catalogue of provinces in South America. There has been one exception: in Paraguay, under the Dictator Francia. "For nearly thirty years, neither war nor massacre has disturbed the provinces under his rule; while Buenos Ayres, within its sight, has been the scene of perpetual revolution, and the vast and noble provinces of the north" (of South America) "depopulated by massacre and faction."†

And yet there are numbers of reasoning men, the majority of philosophic politicians, who look to these destructions and distresses as the remedies of evils; and do not acknowledge that it is the hand of God inflicting

* Times, December 16, 1840, quoting the *Journal of Commerce*, November 27.

† See *Standard*, October 9, 1841, "Death of Dr. Francia."

punishment for their wickedness. The answer which they make to every warning, and which they give out in their agony, is, "Oh, we have much to go through yet, before we can consummate the happy conclusion." So France, in the reign of terror; so France, in her present distresses; so Spain; so Portugal; so Belgium; so Switzerland; so Greece; so Canada; so Buenos Ayres; so Columbia; so Bolivia; so Texas; so Mexico. And what are they now? "And they gnawed their tongues for pain, and blasphemed the God of heaven because of their pains and their sores, and repented not of their deeds."*

Hitherto we have been considering the consequences arising out of liberty and free-thinking, the rebellion against man and God, the liberty of thought and of action. These are the leaven of Heathen philosophy, and self-sufficiency: the revival of Greece and Rome in Christendom; and these sores are felt in other countries than England, because they have given themselves up even more than we have as yet, to the worship of this beast. The next sores are those which are inflicted upon the subjects and slaves of Mammon; and which come upon us self-chosen and self-inflicted, like the rest, but directed by God against those who have the mark of the beast, and who worship his golden image. These diseases will be found therefore the most gnawing and loathsome in England and America.

It is obvious in what manner luxuries and comforts are weighing us down, and heaping upon us burdens and embarrassments against the season of storms, which

* Rev. xvi. 10, 11.

are coming upon us, and must end in sinking us. Already the rich are as much embarrassed to live as the poor; hospitality is beyond their means; charity is beyond their means; a decent provision for the clergy is beyond their means; the taxes are beyond their means; their *necessary* style of living is beyond their means:—two-thirds of the land in the kingdom is mortgaged, the moneyed-men are under advances and in debt, and are trading by credit. The freight, however rich, is insufficient; and is on that account so precious, so beloved, so necessary in our eyes, that we cannot part with it to save our lives, nor throw it overboard in the beginning of the storm, and in time to save the vessel:—but all must inevitably go down together.

The periodical miseries which come upon our manufacturing population, and are ever increasing in intensity, are felt and lamented; but men see not the cause, or the hand, and repent not of their deeds. They look for remedy by an increase of the causes of the evils.

I prefer using the language of other observers of the consequences of our manufacturing and mercantile operations; and I find the following description of our habitual mercantile distress, in an able and instructive pamphlet upon our system of trade and credit, before quoted.

“The frequent recurrence of painful excitement and distress in the commercial world, of late years, has not failed to attract the attention of all classes of traders. Few have been disinterested spectators: the majority, if not all have suffered, and are still suffering, severely from their effects. In former times, we heard the exclamations—‘a dull trade;’ ‘trade flat;’ ‘business not

brisk ;' &c. &c. Since the year 1824, the trading world has altered its tone, from an ordinary cry of loud complaint, to one which indicates little less than the agony of mind at approaching ruin. It matters not from what cause, whether from a deficiency in the harvest, excitement in domestic politics, dangers of wars threatening us from abroad, the speech of an American president against the banking system of the United States, or the revulsion of monetary difficulties from those states,—each has been productive of a serious effect throughout Great Britain, varying alone in intensity, according to the degree of morbid mercantile activity by which one of these occurrences may have been preceded.”*

The late ministers of the crown and their coadjutors have thus described the sufferings of the manufacturing poor during the still existing crisis.

Lord Morpeth presented several petitions to the House from the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire.† He said, “All these petitions stated that there never was a time when business of every kind, in the district from which he came, was known to be so bad :—when trade and manufactures were so depressed :—many branches of trade standing stationary, and making no progress ; a great number of factories being shut up ; some being on short work, and a host of persons being thrown entirely out of employment. And they further stated that, bad as the present was, their prospect for the future, unless some change took place, was infinitely

* Remarks on Trade and Credit, p. 1.

† May 28, 1841.

more disheartening, because they were wholly without hope of recovery."

Mr. Ward said,* "There was not a member from the manufacturing districts who did not come before the House with a long detail of manufacturing distresses. He had himself presented a petition from Sheffield, complaining of the distress which prevailed there. In that town one-third of the workmen were out of employment."

Lord John Russell presented these remarks and facts, on making his motion upon the Sugar Duties :—†

"In the Bolton Union, in the cotton-mills alone, about £95,000 less have been paid in wages during the last twelve months. Many mills have been entirely stopped for all or part of the time, and with only two exceptions all have worked short time for a considerable portion of the past year. I assert most confidently that altogether there must have been at least £130,000 less paid in wages in the Bolton Union. There are now in Bolton 1125 houses untenanted. The shopkeepers are almost ruined by diminished returns and bad debts. Fever is also prevalent. A short time ago 590 persons were relieved by the poor-law guardians in one day. In one case, seventeen persons were found crowded together in a dwelling about five yards square. In another, eight persons, two pair of looms, and two beds, in a cellar six feet underground, and measuring four yards by five. There are scores of families with little or no bedding, having literally eaten it—i. e. pawned it for food. South of Bolton, four miles, a large spinning establishment,

* May 13, 1841.

† May 7, 1841.

giving employment to 800, and subsistence to 1300 persons, has been entirely stopped for nine months. The proprietor has upwards of 100 cottages empty, or paying no rent, and although possessed of immense capital, finds himself unable to continue working his mills to advantage.* North of Bolton, one mile, a spinning manufactory and bleaching establishment, on which 1200 persons were dependent for subsistence, has been entirely standing for four months. There are other similar accounts from Manchester and other manufacturing towns; from which it appears that generally work is falling off, and the people with difficulty obtain wages sufficient to support life; and that bad as the present state of things is, there are still apprehensions that they may be yet worse. We are in fact, as I consider, in a very great crisis in respect to our manufactures. Whether it be owing to the increase of manufacturing enterprize in Germany, Switzerland, and France,—whether it be owing to a disposition on the part of the United States of America to impose still further restrictions upon the admission of our manufactures,—whether it be that the manufactures of this country have already been carried to such an extent that unless new markets be opened for its produce it

* This manifest condemnation of, and judgment upon our manufacturing system, is in like manner remarked upon by Mr. Alison, as “that singular anomaly in our political condition, which has been so often observed, and which is perhaps unexampled in the history of the world, viz. that the State contains immense masses of capital which cannot find employment, and of labourers who cannot obtain work! and yet that these two superfluities are unable to aid each other.”—*Alison on Population*, i. 526. Inopes nos copia fecit.

cannot be sustained upon the footing it has acquired,—whether it be from one of these circumstances, or from all combined, the fact is still, I fear, undeniable, that there is very great danger that a considerable portion of the working population of this country, so far from being able to enjoy, not the luxuries, but the ordinary necessities and comforts of life, will be obliged to resort to the relief given to the poor as paupers, before the close of the present year.”*

Mr. Mark Phillips, the member for Manchester, on moving the address,† stated to the House of Commons, “That whole families were existing upon 7*d.* per week each, or 1*d.* per day. He could submit to the House the case of 102 individuals, who were living, or rather starving, upon 8½*d.* per week, or 1¼*d.* per day each.”‡ He repelled the idea that the present position

* The light of truth is so intense, that a glimmering of it seems to force itself in upon the unwilling eyes of the noble speaker; but they are quickly shut again and closed tightly. The remedy for these distresses, so far as the proposed Sugar Bill would have brought it them, was less than half a farthing on the pound. So intense is philosophic and party blindness.

† August 24, 1841.

‡ A private correspondent wrote from Macclesfield, Nov. 15, 1841, “I have not till last Saturday, when my hands got about 3*s.* 6*d.* or 4*s.* paid them above 1*s.* 3*d.* to 1*s.* 9*d.* the week; and they could not get work anywhere else, or they would not have stayed here; other places being as bad or worse. Families principally depend upon women and children. Children are sent by their parents to work without food enough the latter part of the week to enable them to stand to it as they should. Fever is often the consequence.”

The good order of nature is reversed by the machine system. In the country there is no work for women. In these towns women and children are the chief workers. In silk mills, if they throw, about

of the country was owing to over trading. But he admitted "that in the year 1826 there had been much overtrading; and in the years 1834, 1835 and 1836 credit had been given to an extent which he, for one, must deprecate, and which he looked upon at the time with great regret. Undoubtedly an extension of credit, he admitted, had been most improperly given; but at the same time he must ask whether, during those three years in which credits were so much extended, there did not exist a population ready to be employed? *Would the manufacturers of this country be so unwise as to borrow money for the erection of mills and the construction of machinery, if they had not been aware that there was an ample population in existence, to work that machinery? Would they, in short, have raised the market for labour by an act so insane as that with which they were charged?"*

The argument against over-production from the supply of workmen for the machinery, it is not easy to understand. Undoubtedly working hands may be drawn towards the towns when work is there offered to them; and if profit was hoped for from manufactures, the masters would not be deterred by slightly raising the price of labour at the mills, which bears so small a proportion to the whole cost of production by machines.

8 men are employed to 100 women, girls and boys; of the three last the numbers are nearly equal. If they do not throw, there are about 3 men to 100 women and children. In cotton-spinning mills, where coarser work is done, as bobbin and winding cotton, 10 men to 100 women and children. Where they have mules, more men than women and children are employed; but the whole number is less in proportion to the goods produced.

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But “this act so insane” is the very one with which I directly charge the manufacturers; and say, that avarice, and self-love, in spite of the selfish system of political economy, must continually blind their eyes, and render them so insane, as, contrary to their own true wishes and interests, in advancing themselves, but in successful fulfilment of their desire to crush one another, to induce them, with borrowed capital,—borrowed upon a credit as empty and fallacious as their own expectation of substantial advantages,—upon occasion of some sudden sunshine of demand, of which they did not expect the beginning, as they do not look forward to the end,—to increase both their powers and population and production so enormously as to ruin the trade in general, and themselves in the end.* Since 1839, the iron furnaces in England and Scotland have increased from 429 to 527; since which increase the iron trade has been in continual difficulty. 177 of these are now put out of blast;† the disuse of which cannot have thrown into distress fewer than 100,000 workmen and shopkeepers, including their families:—a population which these works had previously created or drawn together. In Lancashire, Yorkshire, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, there have been started 91 mills, employing 16,750 workpeople. In the same time there have been stopped 138; which gave employment to

* In 1835 to 1837, the District Bank of Manchester advanced to two different cotton-spinning concerns the enormous sums of £495,472 and £292,686; and closed these two accounts in 1839 with a clear loss of £375,000.

† *Mechan. Mag.* No. 971, p. 231.

29,363 persons.* It is no uncommon thing to hear of a work or factory being discontinued, and 2000 or 3000 or 4000 people being thrown off, and suddenly sent wanderers. Nay, the manufacturers themselves will send orders to shut up their factories, and to dismiss workmen to this number, while in profitable work, for the prospect of making a better bargain with them in the course of a few weeks, or for a political object. One principal manufacturer, at Macclesfield, has just been erecting a large silk factory, one building of which contains, it is said, nearly an acre of power looms; and at the same time numerous smaller mills in the same neighbourhood are suffering distress, or discontinued. This is only one example of the deliberate system which is carrying on to crush all the smaller manufacturers. So, while the demand for goods is becoming less and less, the means of production are being continually increased; and these means are being engrossed into fewer and fewer hands, giving increased power of oppression over the working classes.†

* *Mechan. Mag.*, No. 980, p. 401.

† Mr. Horner, one of the inspectors of factories, gives the following instance: "An owner removed from a mill where he had 7 pairs of mules, with 5548 spindles, worked by 7 spinners and 25 piecers; to another, newly erected, having 3 pairs of mules, with 7104 spindles, worked by 3 spinners and 18 piecers. A young man who had been a spinner in the old mill at 20s. was working in the new mill as a piecer at 10s."—*Times*, Oct. 7th, 1842, from "The Churchman's Monthly Review."

The same inspector reports, "That at a mill in Manchester, where they spin the finest yarns, 1 man now works, by means of 8 double-necked mules, the amazing number of 2592 spindles."—*Mechan. Mag.* No. 971, p. 240.

The evils and miseries which the manufacturing population are incurring, are not limited to periods of temporary depression. The distress and degradation of the lowest classes, crowded together in the chief manufacturing towns, is always intense; and may be believed to exceed everything of the kind which has existed anywhere, at any period of the previous history of the world. It is like the miseries of a besieged town rendered perpetual. Mr. Alison, after a patient and personal investigation in this and in foreign countries, declares, that the wretchedness and depravity of our English towns exceed everything that exists in the most depraved towns on the continent. Another writer says, "We are inclined to doubt whether in intensity of guilt London may not claim a bad pre-eminence over Paris."*

Mr. Alison is fain to place the inhabitants of some of our manufacturing towns even in a lower scale than the American savages. "Compare," he says, "a Manchester weaver, a Glasgow operative, or an iron-worker of Birmingham, with an American savage, and the dreadful influence of civilization upon the character of the bulk of the lower orders will be too often apparent. Without going so far as a benevolent and intelligent divine of the Church of England, who affirmed that there were, in 1822, 760,000 unconverted pagans in the city of London,† it may safely be affirmed, that the degradation of character, the grossness of habit, the licentiousness of life, which prevail in a majority of the

* Quart. Rev. No. 139, p. 32, Art. "Paris—its Dangerous Classes."

† Yates, on the Poor of London, p. 272.

inhabitants of all the great European cities, are not exceeded in any part of the habitable globe.*

The excessive cruelty and slavishness of the toil to which women and children are doomed, in rendering service day and night to machines in our manufacturing establishments, has been partially investigated and exposed of late years; and this relieves me from the task of entering into its horrid details.† But Mr. Alison thus expresses himself respecting it:—"It may be affirmed, without hesitation, that the system of employing children of that description," (from ten to eighteen years of age), "in these great establishments, is the most ruinous to the moral character, and habits of increase in a nation, that human ingenuity has ever yet devised; and that if either experience does not discover some remedy for these evils, or nature, in some way, inscrutable to us, does not work out its own cure, the empire will in the end be overturned by their effect."‡

But the extremest state of moral degradation seems

* Alison on Population, ii. 105.

† Some details may be found in the 358th and following pages of the life of Mr. Sadler, who devoted himself to the exposure of this and other wounds in our system indefatigably, but with ill success as to the result. His witness against the errors of his age and country may still be read, but is not likely to be received till it is too late. The heavy strap, which he exhibited in the House of Commons, with which the children are roused to their work, is still in use; but it is not mentioned in recent reports, because the pocket of the overlooker conceals it from the inspectors. A report on the labour in factories was made to the House of Commons in 1838; and another on the employment of children in mines, in 1842.

‡ Alison on Population, i. 530.

to be proved, and the ultimatum of the system of "expediency" seems to be attained, by a practice which is prevalent among a part of our manufacturing population.—The Methodists set up the prettiest girls to preach religion to the young men—"because," say they, "they will not listen to anybody else."

We turn from the manufacturing to the mercantile and monied departments. We see all the nations partaking of the European policy overloaded with national debts. Even the youngest nations and colonies borrow this vice of our system. Incurring in their infancy and weakness the diseases of age, and using this resource more as an instrument of war than for the improvements of peace, they become crippled and infirm as it were from their cradle, by aping the vicious habits of full-grown profligacy. One nation,—at the time the leading nation in Europe,—has already been bankrupt. Many more are so in effect; with little prospect of ever emerging from their difficulties. Even a bankruptcy would not clear them; for, like private traders making themselves periodically bankrupt, they would only start upon the same course again, being set free by their dishonesty:—and even their disgrace and discredit would not prevent them; for many would be found willing and eager to lend, and to pander to their unprincipled proceedings and speculations.*

* The Bank of Pennsylvania, the State which has hitherto maintained the highest character, according to the principles of its original founder, has at length followed the example set by nearly all the rest of the United States, and refused to pay the interest of its national debt. The English capitalists who have taught the world this pernicious system, well deserve the loss and punishment which has come upon them in consequence of it.

For the whole system and course of money-dealing, both among traders and nations, is running rapidly to corruption and dissolution; and all the monied world and its votaries seem to be consenting to a common blindness and demoralization, distraction and madness. Caution and experience seem to be as much banished from our transactions as honesty, under any little present hope or excitement. Credit,—by which confessedly the whole mercantile world moves and exists, is made a mock of, and confounded in use and meaning.—Credit and discredit are made consistent, and are one and the same thing;—and the measure of what a man can get of it, is not his character or resources, but what he has the assurance to ask. We will not dwell again upon the growing disposition of monied-men to contradict the first principles of trade, by becoming partners in companies; from which they expect a mercantile profit, without giving their time and attention or even their presence to their affairs, or knowing one word about the business.—Nor upon the passionate desire of the trading world to obtain the sanction of the legislature for a limited liability in carrying on concerns, the transactions of which might be wholly unlimited.* These, and the eagerness to embark in foreign mines, and

* The perseverance of the commercial speculators, in the zenith of their influence, succeeded in obtaining from the late government the passing of the Act 7 Will. & 1 Vict. c. 73, empowering the Crown to grant a patent to joint stock companies, limiting the liability of their members to some definite amount. Though this evil influence was at that time sufficient to obtain the passing of the act, it is believed that the Crown has never yet been so ill advised as to act under this power, in any one instance.

foreign loans, and foreign colonies and companies, which they have never seen and known,—the more unknown the greater the eagerness, and the expectation which is formed from them,—and some of which have never existed, these are only some examples of the intoxication which riches and avarice occasion, and of the blindness which proceeds from them. We hardly take up a paper without seeing an account of the failure and winding up of one or two banking companies; and this, in many instances, caused by the mismanagement and fraud of some of those principally concerned in conducting them. But let us pass to one of the latest instances of fraud and corruption upon a great scale; upon a scale which may be called national; and which must stamp the whole mercantile community, in the midst of which such transactions could exist, as blind, demoralized, degraded, debased, and fundamentally disorganized. It is a fact, that these disclosures have not disgraced the nation in their own eyes, and hardly even the perpetrators of them; and that, however much alarm and panic and personal fear of loss they may have created, they have excited very little indignation or disgust even in the minds of the English merchants who are not directly affected by them. If any one fancies that this mercantile corruption can be arrested and healed, and that because a legislative remedy may be applied to this particular sore, that therefore the system will be rendered sound and the health reinstated, he expects a draught of water to quench a fever or a spontaneous combustion of the body, and galvanism to restore life to a corpse by a shock and a convulsion.

The same disease is sure to return in the body politic, in a more extensive form, and with greater aggravation. The same disease exists and lurks in the commercial body throughout the world, and in every vein of it.

The disclosures to which I allude are of the transactions of the States Banks of America.

The commissioners employed to investigate the affairs of these banks, reported the following facts, among multitudes of others of the same character.

“*Michigan.* In the Farmers’ Bank of Genessee county, it appears, from the evidence of the cashier, &c., that no set of books had ever been kept. That the whole amount of specie which appeared at any time to have been the *bona fide* property of the bank was about 1,560 dollars; that fraudulent attempts had been made to exhibit the bank in a sound condition, in anticipation of the commissioners’ visit, such as borrowing certificates from other banks; 10,000 dollars in silver were actually paid into the bank by a party, together with two certificates, all of which remained in the bank a few days, and were then taken away by the same parties. In short the condition of this bank was utterly rotten.”

“The report on the other banks, exhibited a wholesale system of fraud and rascality of the most disgusting nature. Six banks were found in such a condition that injunctions had been applied for and issued. In the Jackson county bank, among other instances, eleven boxes were discovered, containing a superficies of coin, altogether amounting to 5,099 dollars, (reckoning the coin found elsewhere,) whilst the substratum contained lead, tenpenny nails, and window glass broken into

small pieces. Notwithstanding this, the statement of the bank, dated three days before, claimed possession of 20,000 dollars in specie. On an examination of its affairs, there appeared a real deficiency of assets of 44,701 dollars."

"Of the Exchange Bank of Shiawassee, the commissioners report, that no part of the capital stock appears ever to have been paid in.—That seven 'coppers' were found in the safe, but that no other coin appeared at any time to have been the property of the bank; that there was one counterfeit note of 500 dollars on one of the New York banks; that the cash in the bank, stated at 14,174 dollars, was made up, as far as could be ascertained, by certain certificates of deposit, obtained from other banks."

Matters in Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana, were found to be equally bad.

"*Mississippi.* Grenada bank. A. C. Baine affirmed, —that he was elected director; but knew nothing of the organization. There were no visible funds in the bank."

"The bank of Vicksburg was organized by the payment of 100,000 dollars, in the notes of the canal and banking company of New Orleans; also 110 dollars in silver, and 10 dollars in gold. The notes were obtained from New Orleans by a few individuals, and used by them in payment of the first instalment of stock subscribed for by them, a large portion of which was in the names of other persons. As soon as the first board of directors was organized, the notes of the real stock-holders, who are mostly directors, were substi-

tuted for the notes of the company above referred to. These bank notes were deposited in the Commercial and Railroad Bank of Vicksburg, and were included among its resources, and in fact reported as specie to the commissioners. Thus a new bank was created, and an old one enabled to make a show of ten times as much specie as she really possessed."

"Tombigbee Railroad Company. The report states that, in January 1838, the circulation of this bank was nearly as great as the capital paid in would permit, and the directors being pressed for money, resorted to the following method to increase the capital of the bank. Five of the directors had their notes discounted for 15,096 dollars each, at thirty days, netting 75,000 dollars. The four other directors, a day or two afterwards, had their notes discounted for similar amounts; thus increasing the capital of the bank 135,000 dollars, and forming a basis for more issues, which were made. The president of the bank also took 90,000 dollars of its notes, and put them in circulation, without their being entered at all upon the books of the bank, and even without the knowledge of the cashier. These notes were used by the president to lessen his own liabilities, and loaned to the directors for the same purpose."

"It appears, says the report, that 203 directors of 21 banks owe the banks they direct nearly as much as one-half of the entire circulation of the 25 banks."

The reports of other banks were the same in character, though not in degree, with these instances.*

* "I find in a newspaper of this day, an account of a periodical

These disclosures of the spring of 1841 are already almost forgotten; and were never greatly heeded except by those who were immediately concerned and interested in them. But we are all interested. The whole world is concerned in, and is condemned by the occurrence of such enormities in the midst of its frame and system; and still more by its inability to purge out such humours and evils;—still most, by its not perceiving or noticing the existence of them, except as passing topics of present interest and ephemeral excitement. But nothing will ever open the eyes of avarice, luxury, infidelity, reason, and conceit, to perceive that our whole commercial world is diseased and corrupted:—that from the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it, but wounds and bruises and putrifying sores.

The mysteries of iniquity, in *Commerce*, *Liberty*, and also in *Knowledge*, are destined perhaps to have their completest development and heaviest punishment in the American commonwealth. Already they take such rapid and gigantic strides towards ruin and corruption, that they are soon likely to overtake the old country. One of their own journals says of them, “The history of whole streets in our mercantile cities is but a record of the rise and the downfall of their occupants. It is a melancholy reflection, that such are the uncertainties

published in America,—a sort of manual on the subject of forgery, called ‘The Counterfeit Detector, and Bank Note List,’ intended to detect forged money. This publication shows that there are no less than 600 kinds of forged money in that country.”—*Speech of Lord John Russell*, H. C. July 12, 1839.

attendant on commerce, and on mercantile affairs generally, that every six or seven years witness a complete revolution in the mercantile class of the community.”*

Mr. Alison remarks, of their speculative system of trade, “The great extent to which the system of paper credit has been carried in the United States, has rendered the industry of the country liable to a variety of shocks more severe than have ever been experienced by any other community in the globe. These commercial difficulties are of such magnitude, that at one blow they prostrate the fortunes of the richest part of the country. During the great crisis of 1837, nearly the whole cotton growers of the southern states at once became insolvent; and in the still more disastrous convulsion of 1839, the whole banks of Philadelphia and the southern states, including the United States’ Bank, stopped payment; and those of New York avoided such an extremity only by contracting their issues in such a way as spread almost universal bankruptcy among the mercantile classes.”† The same author, immediately before, attributes the rapid progress of the Americans in industry, wealth, and population, to this very system of “paper credit,” by which they were thus preparing themselves for such convulsion, misery, and ruin. The picture which he gives is true in both its proportions.

Another remarkable testimony to the political and commercial condition of America, is furnished by the revolutionist Mackenzie, once their so ardent admirer.

* Flushing Silk Journal. Quoted Morning Herald, Feb. 6, 1840.

† Alison on Population, i. 556.

After three years' residence there, he thus writes, among many other things of the same kind, in his own newspaper:—

“The conviction grows daily stronger in my mind that your brethren in this Union are rapidly hastening towards a state of society in which President, Senate, and House of Representatives, will fulfil the duties of King, Lords, and Commons, and the power of the community pass from the democracy of numbers into the hands of an aristocracy—not of noble ancestry and ancient lineage, but of monied monopolists, land-jobbers, and heartless politicians.” Again: “Gambling lotteries, betting at elections, and that dreadful vice intemperance, as also the enactment of a multitude of bad laws, which nobody can ever hope to understand or remember, are making fearful inroads upon the morals of the people. Bribery is so common, as to be practised unblushingly by both parties. The Grand Inquest of Columbia county a few days since made a presentment of ‘the buying and selling of votes at our popular elections as a great and alarming evil in this community,—an evil that is growing with fearful velocity every year, practised and concealed by both political parties,—an evil that no existing law can reach or remedy,—an evil that is prostituting all that is sacred in the right of suffrage, is corrupting and debasing in all its influences, is sapping the foundation of all our liberties; and unless some provision be made to stay its progress, must eventually constitute wealth the only power in our land, and fraud and robbery become an honest way of obtaining

it.' The *Sun*, a daily paper, and the most popular in New York, remarked, 'We suspect the jury might have presented the whole State, and indeed the whole Union, for that matter.'"*

The increase of crime is another sore which evidences the internal disorder of the system. "The numbers of criminals committed in England and Wales, in 1805, were 4,600; in 1815—7,800; in 1821—16,500; in 1831—19,600; in 1838—22,000. That is, the increase of criminals was nearly five-fold, whilst the population increased one-third."† Col. Sykes says, the committals for trial increased between 1821 and 1832, from 13,115 to 20,829 per annum; that is, 58.8 per cent.; while the population of Great Britain increased from 1821 to 1831—14 per cent.‡

Between 1834 and 1841, the committals in England and Wales increased from 22,451 to 27,760; and the convictions from 15,995 to 20,280.‡

The amount of crime is in proportion to the riches and luxury of the particular town or part of the country. In 1835, the commitments in Bristol were 1 in 274 of the population:—in Middlesex, they were 1 in 395:—in Merionethshire, they were 1 in 8,289. In the other Welsh, and in the northern agricultural counties, the number was also proportionably low. The proportion for the whole population of England and Wales was in the same year 1 in 631.§

* Times, April 10, 1841.—Quoting from the Brighton Gazette.

† Mr. Slaney's speech, 1840.

‡ Parliam. Return: Secretary of State's Office, 19 May, 1842.

§ Col. Sykes's Paper in the Transactions of the Statist. Soc. 1839.

The following quotations are from Mr. Alison's work on Population :—

“ Serious crime has increased forty-fold over all Scotland in the last thirty years.”*

“ In Lanarkshire, population doubles in about thirty years, crime in about five and a-half years ; so that crime is increasing six times as fast as the numbers of the people.”†

In his second volume, at p. 121, is a tabular statement, showing that in the same county, in a period of fifteen years, from 1822 to 1838, serious crime has advanced at the rate of 600 per cent., and the chances of life have diminished nearly one-half. The proportion of crime to the population has been tripled, whereas during the same period the number of inhabitants has advanced 75 per cent.

“ The celebrated statistical writer Moreau thus sums up the progress of crime in the United Kingdom for the last thirty years :—‘ The number of individuals brought before the criminal courts in England, has increased five-fold in the last thirty years ; in Ireland, five and a-half ; and in Scotland, twenty-nine-fold. It would appear that Scotland, by becoming a manufacturing country, and acquiring riches, has seen crime advance with the most frightful rapidity among its inhabitants.’”‡

“ From the criminal returns quoted below, it appears

* Alison on Population, i. 537.

† Ibid. ii. 97. Glasgow is included in Lanarkshire.

‡ Moreau's Statist. de la Grande Bretagne, ii. 297 ; ap. Alison on Population, ii. 317.

that, since 1820, commitments for felonies and other serious crimes have increased about 185 per cent. in England; and that during the same period they have advanced 200 per cent. in Ireland; but in Scotland they have increased 250 per cent. In none of these countries, during the same period, has the population advanced above 50 per cent. So that over the whole empire serious crime is augmenting *four times*, in Scotland *five times*, as fast as the number of the people.”*

The most grievous sore of all is Pauperism. This exceeds in England that of any other country,† and every intensity of suffering, hardly excepting temporary famines, of which we have account in former ages. This evil had its rise at the same time with our commercial and manufacturing system. The reign of Elizabeth witnessed the first great advances which were made in both. And pauperism, or the multiplication and distress of the dependant poor, has constantly gone on increasing, with the increase of our manufacturing and commercial prosperity. In a hundred and fifty years, the rates expended upon the poor have increased ten-fold; while the population has increased only two and-a-half-fold, and the value of money, as compared with food and wages, has not decreased one-half.

But this affords no true measure of the depth and intensity of the evil. The funds now expended and administered are wholly inadequate. The distress penetrates deeper than what the best and most beneficent system of relief could heal or reach; much less such a

* Alison on Population, ii. 325.

† Fourth Poor Law Report, p. 230, 8vo.

system as has of late years been devised, and forced into operation.

The mortality from distress and disease in our manufacturing towns is becoming frightful. The average deaths by the year, throughout the kingdom, are 1 in 36. Those in Leeds are 1 in 28½. In Glasgow the mortality has increased, between 1822 and 1837, from 1 in 44 to 1 in 24½. “The number of persons affected by fever in Glasgow in 1835, was 6,180; in 1836—10,092; in 1837—21,800.” “The mind,” says Dr. Cowan, “cannot contemplate without horror, the amount of human misery which the above statement so forcibly expresses.” Other large towns, Manchester, Macclesfield, Nottingham, Bristol, Newcastle, London, approach to the same state.* At the same time the rate of life among the rich is increased.

Mr. Sadler well pourtrayed this feature in our social state, when he said, that it “exhibits, at one and the same time, part of its members reduced to the condition of slaves by over-exertion, and another part to that of paupers by involuntary idleness.”†

Mr. Alison says, “It is forgetfulness of the poor to which we owe almost all our present dangers; it is inattention to them that the remedy is to be found.”‡

The same author gives the following descriptions of pauperism in England, Scotland, and Ireland.—

* Mr. Slaney’s speech, House of Commons, Feb. 4, 1840, quoting Dr. Cowan’s Vital Statistics, Reports to the House of Commons, and other Reports.

† Life of M. T. Sadler, p. 341.

‡ Alison on Population, i. 540.

Of England he says, "Anterior to the late change in the Poor Law, one-tenth of the whole population received parochial relief."*

"The English poor-rates arise necessarily from the opulence and complicated state of society which has long subsisted in this country; and are in fact a part only of the most alarming feature in the political condition of the British empire."†

Of Ireland,— "The Poor Law Commissioners have ascertained that there are above two million of persons in the country who are in such a state of poverty as generally to stand in need of parochial assistance."‡

"The Mendicity Society have been compelled to resort to the expedient of marching an array of three or four thousand beggars through the streets of Dublin in order to awaken, by their hideous exhibition, the sympathy of the benevolent."§

"It has been repeatedly observed by travellers who have visited other countries after traversing Ireland, that in none of them, not even the most despotic, is misery so general and poignant as in that scene of woe; and an intelligent traveller has recently observed, with evident justice, that not only could the Irish peasant see much to envy in the condition of the serfs of Russia, but even he would be immensely benefited by an exchange with the convicts who toil in the wilds of

* Alison on Population, ii. 44, quoting Parliamentary Rep. 1827.

† Ibid. ii. 47.

‡ Ibid. i. 495, quoting Report of Commissioners on the Irish Poor, 42, 117.

§ Ibid. i. 496.

Siberia.* Unquestionably the condition of the negroes in the West Indies, prior to their late emancipation, generally speaking was infinitely preferable.”†

“Pauperism, recklessness, want of forethought, were thus perpetuated in the land; and in the midst of the British empire a perennial stream of destitution and redundant numbers was opened, which flowing incessantly for two centuries and a half, has overspread all the three kingdoms, and brought upon their inhabitants that just retribution which so long-continued a neglect of human suffering could not fail, under the administration of a righteous Providence, in the end to produce.”‡

This is his description of Scotland :—

“Extensive inquiries have now ascertained the lamentable fact, that there are at least 350,000 human beings in Scotland,—nearly a tenth of the existing population,—who are in a state of almost total destitution. The paupers in Scotland are just as numerous, or more so in proportion, as those in England.”§

“If we contemplate the mass of indigence which in Scotland overspreads the Highland districts, and festers like a gangrene in all the great towns to the north of the Tweed; if we consider the enormous quantity of spirits which are consumed in its mercantile communities, and the unparalleled increase of crime with which for fifteen years it has been accompanied; if we recol-

* Cochrane.

† Alison on Population, i. 506.

‡ Ibid. i. 509.

§ Ibid. i. 535.

lect the general loosening of moral obligation which has taken place in the manufacturing districts of all parts of the island, and the vast conspiracy against life and property which has been growing up for many years past, without any compunction or hesitation, among so many hundred thousands of the working classes, especially in the manufacturing districts of England; if we reflect on the prodigious increase of crime in that country, the vast extent of its female profligacy, and the debasing habit of intoxication which has so generally followed the reduction of the duties on beer; we can hardly avoid the conclusion, that causes of evil of peculiar power and malignity have been in operation in all parts of the island, to which, if not restrained in their operation, the empire itself will in the course of time fall a victim.”*

“Glasgow exhibits a frightful state of mortality, unequalled perhaps in any city in Britain. The prevalence of fever presents obstacles to the promotion of social improvement among the lower classes, and is productive of an amount of human misery credible only to those who have witnessed it.”†

“The wynds of Glasgow comprise a fluctuating population of from 15 to 30,000 persons. This quarter consists of a labyrinth of lanes, out of which numberless entrances lead into small square courts, each with a dunghill reeking in the centre. Revolting as was the outward appearance of these places, I was little

* Alison on Population, i. 515.

† Ibid. ii. 88, note, quoting Cowan's Vital Statistics of Glasgow, p. 14.

prepared for the filth and destitution within. In some of these lodging-rooms (visited at night) we found a whole lair of human beings littered along the floor, sometimes fifteen and twenty, some clothed and some naked ; men, women, and children huddled promiscuously together. Their bed consisted of a layer of musty straw intermixed with rags. There was generally little or no furniture in these places ; the sole article of comfort was a fire. Thieving and prostitution constitute the main sources of the revenue of this population. No pains seem to be taken to purge this Augean pandemonium, this nucleus of crime, filth, and pestilence, existing in the centre of the second city of the empire. These wynds constitute the St. Giles's of Glasgow ; but I owe an apology to the metropolitan pandemonium for the comparison. A very extensive inspection of the lowest districts of other places, both here and on the continent, never presented anything one half so bad, either in intensity of pestilence, physical and moral, or in extent, proportioned to the population."*

On this account Mr. Alison observes, that he is "compelled to say, that these observations of Mr. Symonds perfectly coincide with what has long fallen under his own notice, and in fact, the general state of destitution, intoxication, and misery, which prevail among the abject poor in these wynds of Glasgow, is such as would exceed belief, to those who do not see it judicially

* Arts and Artisans at Home and Abroad, by J. C. Symonds, Esq. p. 116, et seq., Government Commissioner for examining into the condition of the hand-loom weavers ; quoted *Alis. on Pop.* ii. 89, note.

established every week in the year, by the concurring testimony of great numbers of witnesses.”*

The very system of relief which mercenary wisdom has devised and worked out, aggravates these sores and the virulence of the distemper. The English system of poor relief, as it is at present carried into operation, is the conception of a purely mercantile age and spirit, the ultimatum of mechanical and arithmetical science, and selfish obtuseness; and is no more fitted to the habits and mechanism of human life, than a foot-rule to morals and philosophy. It binds up the wounds of human life with iron bands; and aggravates its torments. While liberty is extolled and worshipped in all mouths, and slaves are bought up and emancipated, this system revives and forges with ingenious cruelty all and more than all the fetters and degradations of punishment and slavery, and inflicts them by law and legislative enactment.† Nature rebels against the philosophic torture, and unnatural experiment; and throws off the gangrene and the application together, with raging inflammation. At the same time the mortification spreads, and extends itself over the whole system.

* Alison on Population, ii. 89, note.

† “The more I converse with prisoners, the more I perceive of the fatal evils that must arise from a too close approximation between the state of the workhouse and the prison, as it regards physical comforts.”

“Workhouses being so nearly connected with the prison:—on this ground I confess that my supply of useful and interesting reading to the prisoners is often checked by the apprehension of giving to the prison an advantage which the workhouse has not.”—*Report of the Chaplain to the Lewes House of Correction*, 1842, p. 4, 6.

The mechanical obtuseness of the instrument by which we probe this aggravated wound, shows us to be as devoid of understanding as the mechanism which we delight in, and our hearts to be as hard as the material of which it is constructed. Our exclusive study and estimation of machinery has blunted our minds and understandings, and unfitted them for the study of human nature; and made all our works partake of the inferiority and uniformity which characterize the products of unintelligent machines. At the same time, love of money stifles the sympathies, which alone might somewhat correct this bluntness and ignorance with regard to the feelings and dispositions of the poor.

Machines may work up wool and cotton and flax; but even in these a distinction is made in respect of coarse and fine goods; and of all the texture is torn and fretted and deteriorated by the machinery. The texture of the mind and feelings is more delicate and intricate than that of the soft wool; the heartstrings are finer than the finest flax or cotton—even in the pauper. Know ye this, ye town-made commissioners? Know ye not this, ye steam-engine legislators? Know ye this,—that there is no uniformity between the vicious and the virtuous; there is no possible uniformity of system for the wicked and the good; for the hardened and the sensitive. That which is wholesome and healthful to the one, is death to the other. There is no degree of severity and disgrace which commissioners will dare to inflict as a test, to which vice and idleness will not become inured and submit, rather than to honest industry. But grant that the limit may be attained of

swinish inertia and endurance.—That which is a sufficient test of want to the hardened and the brutalized, must be a torture worse than death to the undegraded and the sensitive.

Look at the fruits of the present system. It is a light thing that natural deaths should be increased by suffering; that children should be crippled for life, and drained of their strength, by infantine services to senseless machines; and that mortality should continually increase among the poor while it decreases among the rich;—life has grown more cruel even than death itself, and his natural stroke must be anticipated.

October 9th, 1840.—A man attempted suicide, not bearing to see his children starve.

July 2nd, 1841.—A poor man hanged himself in Orange Street, rather than go to the union workhouse.

August, 1840.—A man named Garrat poisoned four of his children, not enduring to see them die from want.

Oh, horrible! Miss Martineau records it as a real fact, that two women having been brought to bed they quarrelled for the *dead* child. The order of nature is so reversed, the feelings of human nature are grown so unnatural, in this highly civilized country!

Money is such a god,—and bread at the same time is so hard to procure,—that a man put to death three of his own children by poisoning, for the sake of getting the money allowed by his club for burial money.

Is there not a noisome and grievous sore fallen upon them that have the mark of the beast? Is not Babylon fallen, and become the habitation of devils, and the

hold of every foul spirit, and the cage of every unclean and hateful bird ?

One example was sufficient in Samaria, to fulfil the prophesied curse, that women should eat their own children. Surely the examples and proofs of the enormity of our distresses are multiplied tenfold. We want no outward enemy to do this. We are worse to our own souls than any foreign enemy. We lay siege to ourselves. And, for the very disease of appetite, in the midst of plenty, we devour our own flesh.

ESSAY XVII.

THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE.

"THY WISDOM AND THY KNOWLEDGE IT HATH PERVERTED THEE."—ISA. XLVII. 10.

"AND THE LORD SAID UNTO ME, TAKE UNTO THEE YET THE INSTRUMENTS OF A FOOLISH SHEPHERD. FOR, LO, I WILL RAISE UP A SHEPHERD IN THE LAND, WHICH SHALL NOT VISIT THOSE THAT BE CUT OFF, NEITHER SHALL SEEK THE YOUNG ONE, NOR HEAL THAT THAT IS BROKEN, NOR FEED THAT THAT STANDETH STILL; BUT HE SHALL EAT THE FLESH OF THE FAT, AND TEAR THEIR CLAWS IN PIECES. WOE TO THE IDLE SHEPHERD, THAT LEAVETH THE FLOCK! THE SWORD SHALL BE UPON HIS ARM, AND UPON HIS RIGHT EYE; HIS ARM SHALL BE CLEAN DRIED UP, AND HIS RIGHT EYE SHALL BE UTTERLY DARKENED."—ZECH. XI. 15—17.

"AND THE FIFTH ANGEL Poured OUT HIS VIAL UPON THE SEAT OF THE BEAST; AND HIS KINGDOM WAS FULL OF DARKNESS."—REV. XVI. 10.

ANOTHER DARK AGE POSSIBLE—THE PRESS NO GUARANTEE AGAINST IT—EPHEMERAL LITERATURE MAY DESTROY THE HIGHER TASTES—KNOWLEDGE OUR SUMMUM BONUM—SCIENCE MAKES US BLIND—MORAL PHILOSOPHY IS EXTINGUISHED AMONG US—PHILOSOPHY IS SHALLOW AND PUERILE—TENDS TO INDIFFERENTISM AND CONFUSION—OUR IDEA OF EDUCATION CONFOUNDS RELIGION AND LEARNING—WHICH ARE OPPOSITE PRINCIPLES—THE EDUCATION HERESY—EDUCATION INCREASES CRIME—APOSTASY OF LEARNING.

IF it were to be said, that we might possibly fall again into another dark age, it would be generally professed that there could be no proposition so monstrous as this. The notion that this enlightened era of the world,—so instructed, so inventive, so great and successful in all its operations, so fruitful in discoveries,—should ever again relapse towards a dark age, is just the most impossible of all events, and that from which we are the safest. "The press is of itself the sufficient guarantee against any failure or relapse from our present state of eminence in wisdom and intellect."

I do not find it to be so certain, that the press affords any such guarantee against a falling away from substantial knowledge : I do not find it certain, that this is in fact a wise age ; or that it has not already relapsed considerably backward from the highest stage of wisdom already attained by the human powers and intellect.*

In the first place let it be confessed, that each age and country would equally say of itself, that it was the most enlightened ; and in the next place I may venture to assert, that there is no era of the world which has not produced as great and vigorous minds, and as shining lights in its darkness, as any that are now produced : in spite of the habitual contempt which is now cast upon all that is by-gone, and till of late was respected and time-honoured. But the security for knowledge is its diffusion and generalness ; and it is the press which is relied upon as the means and the instrument. The universal diffusion of knowledge is the very thing which is most capable of degrading it ; and the press is the very probable means of effecting this debasement. The nourishment which is intended for all tastes, and is supplied universally, must be tasteless : as air and water ; and whenever anything is adopted into general and permanent use, it must in like manner be made plain and simple and tasteless. Even the language of civilized life, which is intended to please all tastes, of necessity must be unmeaning and powerless.

* "A darkness which may perhaps be the thickest and least penetrable, when the lamp of philosophy and science burns the brightest, and men flatter themselves that their illumination is complete."—*Bishop of London*. Sermon before the King of Prussia, 1842.

That which becomes fashionable must follow the general taste; and if the public taste declines, every thing that depends upon it must decline with it. There is nothing better calculated or more likely to promote this operation than the art of printing, and the increased facilities which it provides.* The multitude and cheap-

* Mr. Alison ventures a proposition which might seem more startling than this, namely, that the press might be made the instrument of destroying liberty. "It may be relied on, that if the bulk of the people become corrupted, either from the selfishness of repose, the enjoyments of pleasure, the passions of power, or the luxuries of opulence, the press will become the most fatal instrument that ever was devised for destroying the liberties of mankind; for it will throw its enervating spell over their minds, and deprive them even of the wish to regain their freedom."—*Alison on Population*, ii. 72.

The press, so far from being a security for virtue in a people, is capable of becoming, nay, is likely to become, the promoter of vice; and when public principle is declining, is sure to be the grand instrument for corrupting and disorganizing the people. In the first place, the motive to rectitude which it holds out, is a low and corrupt motive. As public opinion, in newspapers, must be expressed at the first moment,—as every thing must be known and judged of on the very day in which it occurred,—it must be formed from present appearances, and from the outside of things. But wisdom and goodness look to the future effect, at the sacrifice of present consequences. Therefore, public opinion must discourage real goodness and good sense, and encourage appearance and pretence and outward show, and the fallacies and foolish glare which give present éclat and popularity. Private judgment is more patient than public opinion. It is also a greater incentive to virtue. When a personal acquaintance was kept up between tradesmen and their customers, this was a stronger inducement to maintain their integrity, than the publicity which is now given to every man's affairs. The fear of the loss of character among their private connexions, was greater than the present fear of public exposure and disgrace. In fact, the public opinion is not so ruinous to a bad man, as the loss of character used to be among a circle of private customers. We see tradesmen, who have been publicly exposed, set

ness of books makes every body read them: makes every body read them hastily. The most recent being

up in trade again, and carry it on with the most perfect success. Private judgment is more permanent than public opinion. The daily publication of all manner of occurrences from all parts of the world, forces the forgetting of past topics of interest, however great and important; and a man's character is only lost to him for a short time, by the greatest delinquencies. The public soon become lenient, and indifferent to his offence. The multiplication of such villainies, and their daily repetition, makes the world regard them lightly and tolerantly. Adulterers and adulteresses, and those guilty of disgraceful acts, were never received back again so easily as now into society. There is no doubt but that personal acquaintances, in private life, look with greater severity upon a crime, than the public. But, as things are, the public voice is the most important, and supersedes the private. The public canvassing of all topics, and accusing and defending of every act, on both sides, and with gross exaggerations, and the frequent slander even of the worthiest and the best men, excites and exhausts the mind and moral sense, and renders it unconcerned, and indifferent to real transactions. The calumnies against the good are a screen to bad men. The constant repetition of horrors and crimes render us callous and reckless. And the details of murder, and suicide, and regicide, are known to lead and to instigate frequently to the commission of these offences. When the press promotes vice, it makes all men equally vicious. It drags virtue, which is independent, and desires solitude and retirement, before the common judgment-seat. There is no sanctuary for virtue. There are very few crimes from which men are deterred by the fear of publicity. But private opinion and character is one of the first and strongest motives in all subjects of wrong and disgrace. Even public men used to be more constrained by the opinion of those about them within the bounds of what was at the time conventionally considered among them as their duty, than they now are by the public opinion. But does the public opinion constrain public men to good? For this is the great pretension of the public censorship of the press. In the first place, if public officers are restrained by the press from misconduct, some of the best men are restrained from seeking public life, by the abuses of that instrument. But are public men deterred from doing wrong? They are full as fre-

always the greatest in number and repute, there is little or no time for older works. Everything must be written in the plainest and most popular style, otherwise it would be impossible to read fast enough. There must be no such thing as a language and style peculiar to each author, the best suited to his subject and taste—as in the best Greek and Italian authors. But everything must be written in the most fluent and easy style, and according to the present popular pattern. Nature and primitive society are original, energetic, various, and at the same time permanent: as in language, and habits of life, and dress; on the contrary, art and civilization are uniform, imitative, and tame, and at the same time fickle and changeable, both in their objects and modes, so that nothing under their influence becomes well-rooted, and perfected. Thus we are incapacitated by our habits from the energy of thought and mind, and freedom of taste, which are requisite to enable us to study the older authors; and thus we seem likely to be excluded from this rich mine of solid metal, and to become accustomed to scratch the surface soil only for grains and dust, such as it takes a million of to make an ingot. Those writers of puerile ambition, who seek

quently deterred from doing right, and acting boldly, and promptly, and wisely, and vigorously, and conscientiously, and usefully, by the apprehension of public notice and objection; and the wisest and best are obliged to take their line, and to shape their course and conduct, according to the popular sentiment and voice, and in pursuit of present approbation.

If the public voice supersedes private opinion as a rule and guide, and to such ill purpose, what must be its effect as superseding, and in comparison with, conscience and religion, as a rule and motive?

to improve the spelling of the English language, to the standard of their own blunted perceptions and sickly tastes, do not reflect, that if a new method of spelling were ever to be adopted, it would at once exclude all the books of the older writers from use, and render them a dead language. One set of critics want to reduce the pronunciation of all words to their spelling, and another, if not the same, to reduce the spelling to the pronunciation. The two propositions are contradictory. But besides this, those who want to simplify our spelling, show themselves incapable of appreciating the delicate varieties of pronunciation, which are often indicated by the very letters which they would dispense with; and those who would alter the pronunciation observe neither the idiom nor the euphony of our language, nor the variety of meaning which is frequently exhibited by this freedom, and which must be as much greater than the number of words as the sounds must be than the letters of our language: unless like the Russians we adopted 52 letters at least into our alphabet.

As the publications most in use still become more and more ephemeral, so in proportion the style and depth and solidity of thought must decline and grow enervated. Men will not write with the same care and thought that which is intended to be read only for the day, and is after that directly to be thrown aside, and habitually forgotten. And though ephemeral writings are for the present improved, because the best writers find it profitable to devote their time and talents to them; yet when ephemeral works shall have become the sole literature, and all learning shall have become

as it were the daily gossip of a newspaper,—cheap and light, popular and easy, the invention and topic of the day and hour—then, with the change of fashion and of taste, the style and standard of learning and literature must decline: not at all impeded by the existence of multitudes of works of the highest standard and calibre, even in print,—and in our libraries. We scarcely reflect how easy it is for books to be in print, and be known, and be talked of, and yet to be never read:—as the Jews were till of late unacquainted with their own Bible, and Leo X. is said never to have read the New Testament till after he was pope.

Niebuhr observes, in treating of the first dark age of Rome, that “An age unable to produce any good works is also incapable of reading books.”*

The literature and education of a country is a fashion and a taste. If a nation may decline in civilization, it may still more decline in knowledge. Where is the education and literature of Spain? Where that of Italy? It is not printed books which would dispose the modern Greeks to study Aristotle and Æschylus. How young men hate and despise the Proverbs of Solomon! There is no royal road to learning, it is confessed. And King Mob, though he may level mountains and thrones, and crumble them down to the level of his own dust, yet he cannot add one cubit to his own dunghill without toil, or alter human nature one iota. Learning and wisdom must be toiled and laboured after; and both time and honour must be ready to be given to them, or men will not labour after them. A desolating civil war, or a

* Transl. by Hare and Thirlwall, vol. ii. p. 638. See the passage.

foreign invasion, may put learning out of countenance ; and so might the ease and sloth of continual peace and enervating luxury. It is not blaze of light alone which will produce vision. "The light shined in darkness and the darkness comprehended it not."

I have already said that we seem to be relapsing into second childhood, through resting upon our own wisdom and knowledge : self-satisfied with our present experience ; and using the more ancient ways and opinions, if at all, as old saws and fables,—without ability to understand and apply them to modern times and present circumstances. As the world grows old and effete, our objects and efforts grow more trifling and transient ; as our mines become richer, and the materials of knowledge more abundant and complete, our investigations are shallower and more superficial, and our endeavours feebler and more inconstant. The art of knowledge is as much to forget what is past, as to be well versed in that which is the present topic of interest. An instructive and valuable work is forgotten in less time than it took to write it ; the peculiar circumstances of a great national event and crisis are not remembered after two or three years ; and few can tell whether the recent wars in Affghanistan and China have gone on for two years or four ; or have taken the pains to inquire into the real causes of either. A new system of medicine, or mesmerism, or ten yards square of artificial ice, or an electrical telegraph, occupies more attention.

In this, as in other things, the Americans seem disposed to carry on our own principles farther and faster than ourselves. A recent writer, possessed of the

happiest powers of description, describes their appetite for knowledge in the following terms. "With regard to the other means of excitement, the lecture, it has at least the merit of being always new. One lecture treads so quickly on the heels of another, that none are remembered; and the course of this month may be safely repeated the next, with its charm of novelty unbroken, and its interest unabated."*

We could never persuade ourselves that this is not the very wisest age; or that such knowledge as we are pursuing is not the summum bonum:—because knowledge is the fashion of the day; and knowledge is our pride, and passion; and we have heard that Bacon has said "Knowledge is power,"—without telling us however whether its power is greatest for good or for evil. But knowledge is the thing admired and in vogue, and, next to money, is the thing envied. Therefore also it is the great object and the great end; and it is to sap the foundations of truth—that is, of present opinion—to say that it is not the great and sufficient instrument and warrant of happiness.

The miser cannot be convinced that money is not the summum bonum, while he passes fearful and fretful days and feverish nights watching the price of stocks and the panic in the markets. The gambler declares and thinks his pursuit delicious, while he is tearing up the flesh of his bosom with his nails through the agony of excitement. The debauchee derides all sober courses of life, and self-control; while he is feeling an inward vacancy and unsatisfied desire, which increases

* Dickens's American Notes, i. 133.

continually with every fresh indulgence of it, and is preparing pains and palsy and petulance for the conclusion of the scene, without hope or happy reflection for a solace or diversion. Napoleon conceives himself the greatest and most gifted of men, and the most favoured by heaven, when he is marshalling his greatest battle, and is pacing up and down, and biting his hands with rage, and is emptying boxes of snuff, and snatching his general's aigrettes to excite his exhausted spirits,—and has already Russia, thank God! and the world within his grasp, and the throw of this die,—and the next hour he is a defeated gambler. So we will not believe that riches are not our highest end, because we abound in them: though this land in which they abound is the land of pauperism, and the very crisis of riches is about to bring us to bankruptcy. Or that knowledge is not our gods which have brought us out of Egypt: though we are the blindest and most superficial of all generations.

“Thy wisdom and thy knowledge it hath perverted thee.” Our learning has made us blind. There has been no age in which people have more closely shut their eyes to plain facts and truths, than the present one. We reason ourselves out of our good-sense. This was the method and the example set us by our masters the Greeks. Historically they were acquainted with many important truths, but they reasoned themselves out of the belief of them. The Egyptians and Pythagoras knew that the sun was the centre of our system:—but the later Greeks denied the fact. They knew likewise by tradition that there was a beginning

of the world, and that man was created ;—but Aristotle and his followers disproved both these truths. Both Plato and Aristotle acknowledge that there was a tradition that One God alone governed the universe. The immortality of the soul, and the special government of Providence, were both known to them by precept ; but the later Greeks denied any such things. The philosophers and sophists turned morals into a science ; and we know the theories and practices which grew out of this stem. Plato's community of women, which was of this root, was wholesome and sound to many of them. Hear what Seneca says of them on this topic. "The wisdom of the ancients, as to the government of life, was no more than certain precepts, what to do, and what not ; and men were much better in that simplicity ; for as they came to be more learned, they grew less careful of being good. That plain and open virtue is now turned into a dark and intricate science ; and we are taught to dispute rather than to live."

"Thy wisdom and thy knowledge it hath perverted thee." We attribute an effect and importance to science which does not belong to it, not knowing its limits and its fallibleness. We suffer the medical and legal professions to determine the question of moral responsibility, in insanity ; confounding distinct and separate subjects. We find ourselves in consequence involved in inextricable difficulty, by means of our pretension to greater wisdom than our ancestors in these matters : being in fact become fools by our scientific advancement. Surgical science dims the mind's eye to the apprehen-

sion of a divine cause ; and to a discrimination in moral subjects. Science is essentially shallow, and only deals well with shallow subjects : as mathematics. It mainly studies order and clearness and simplicity. But if a moral treatise is clear, and it is easy to see to the bottom of it, it must needs be that it is shallow ; if it is reduced to exact order, it is no other than putting animate, elastic, energetic limbs into a coffin, or a strait waistcoat. No two things are apt to be more diametrically opposed, than science and true wisdom. A great writer is more than likely to be a bad practitioner. This is much the case in medicine ; but more in human life. Yet we give the palm to reason and science in everything ; and we thereby out-reason and out-wit ourselves. We reason upon temptations, till we palliate and excuse every offence ; we reason upon the causes of crime, till we lose our abhorrence of it, and neglect to punish it ; we reason upon the nature of prayer, till we cease to pray with faith ; we reason upon God's commands till we refuse to obey them ; we reason upon Christianity, till we forget to practise it. Learned men always look down upon those who act rightly and wisely without giving rules and reasons. The legal profession universally despise the judgments of juries ; and yet they are themselves the most incompetent judges of the common affairs of life, and the most beset with prejudices. Our ancestors never showed their wisdom greater, than when they withdrew the cognizance of facts from the legal profession, and placed them in the hands of the unsophisticated.

The fruit of the tree of knowledge is ever to us what its first fruit was to our first parents. The first suggestion of their knowledge was to hide themselves from the all-seeing God ;—and the next was, an answer which betrayed and proved the whole matter which they intended to conceal. We too are like the ostriches and the woodcocks, which thrust their heads behind a stick, and into the sand, and like children who shut their eyes, and think then that they are not seen. We shut our eyes to the laws and presence of God ; and say that “None seeth me.”* We shut our eyes to the facts and experiences around us, and staring at us, and think that they will not find us out, and that we may pursue our prejudices and choice blindly, and to a successful end, and with impunity. A professor of the most popular science now in vogue wrote a volume to prove that a landlord’s absence from his estates was no evil ; and his reasoning was accredited against all experience and ascertained consequences, because the reasoning was palatable. With like money-wisdom, it was reported and recommended that an archdeacon would do as well, and serve the same purposes as a bishop, in the Isle of Man, “because he had a sufficient stipend.” This is an axiom in modern wisdom, that goodness may be secured and purchased for money ; and that if good prices are offered for good men, we take the best and sufficient means to instil virtue into our population. Virtue may be fed and fattened by the most corrupting food, and the gratification of a vicious appetite ! Therefore, paid magistrates and officers of justice, of improve-

* Isai. xlvii. 10.

ment, of charity, of religion, at home and in missions, are better than gratuitous ones. Money is a better security and motive to action than respect or a good conscience! self-interest than benevolence! the earning of a salary than the sacrifice of time and pleasure! mercenaries than volunteers! privates than officers! a low, dependent person who aspires to gain, than a high independent gentleman who condescends to usefulness! Certainly this must be the ultimate attainment and heresy of mercantile philosophy!

Our towns are filled with wretchedness and vice, and millions are still flowing towards them to misery; yet the remedy must be in the further encouragement of the system. Pauperism increases with our riches, and even the difficulty which the rich have to live:—the remedy is the still further increase of them. Our tradesmen and workmen are failing and starving, while the rich are growing more luxurious:—yet luxury is extolled as a virtue and duty, and must be still further promoted. Our national debt embarrasses all our movements, gives colour to demoralizing sources of revenue, requires taxes which fetter every branch of our trade, and is the key to every act of legislation; but we have reasoned ourselves into the belief that it is a good thing, because it affords us some securities and indulgences. Popular excitement and struggle for power is shaking the world like an earthquake, and threatening destruction of all social organization:—the remedy is in giving the monster his head, and letting him taste the blood of his prey.—“We have much to go through yet; let us therefore rush into the ruin all at once, and go through it quickly.”

We are the most backward of all people in the study of human nature. And though all other nations of Europe have a greater insight into character and knowledge of life than ourselves, and are more dexterous dealers and diplomatists, yet there is not one good moral philosopher on this side of the Archipelago. The Asiatics have always been the greatest observers of life and character, and the first moral philosophers. To extol the wisdom of Solomon the most highly it was said, that his wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the East. The proverbs of Solomon are the highest examples of this wisdom; but they are paltry and unpalatable to us. The Jews inherited and still inherit this field of knowledge from their forefathers; of which there are some examples in the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, and some also in the writings of Maimonides and Mendelsohn. The Hindoos are pre-eminent in their knowledge of life and character; and moral philosophy has always been the prevailing literature among the Chinese.

The literature and philosophy of this country is rational and mechanical; and dry and formal like a syllogism. The moral qualities and powers of things are unobserved, and disregarded. The moral strength of the country is no subject for our politicians; it is a thing not understood, and consequently undervalued:—as physicians deny the influence of the moon upon lunatics, because it is beyond the province of their art. The police force of moral influence is uncultivated, and almost unnoticed. We have so little knowledge of the human mind, that we have established an external test

of poverty, to supersede inquiry; this being one and the same criterion for the bad and good, for hardened and degraded profligacy, and virtuous sensibility. The French omnibuses have a turnstile, to check the numbers who go in and out; in lieu of honesty in the conductor. We have the same at our bridges and railroads. It is worthy of a manufacturing age, to have a mechanical substitute for honesty and character. The study of mind is mechanical,—by the line and rule of craniology; the study of medicine too,—for it is becoming more and more based upon anatomy. The plaything, geology, is suffered to usurp the place of history, and if need be of revelation;* and is called sublime, &c.!

We are children in our philosophy; and we deal with the most important concerns and mysteries of human life as our toys and playthings. A commission high in authority and power makes reports to the government, confounding seduction with prostitution; recommending that the preventive punishment of these crimes should be applied exclusively to the weaker sex; and limiting the highest amount of damages for seduction to twenty pounds. The privy council committee of education make reports, elaborately entering into the mysteries of spelling and reading; and pointing out the mode of teaching the arts of reading and spelling by analysis, and of writing by synthesis. Surely, we are children in philosophy and understanding! When Joyce's stoves were invented,

* I have heard a reverend lecturer in geology declare, that for the waters of the flood to cover the whole earth, coming as they did from a smaller sphere to occupy a larger one, was physically impossible;—and that as for creation being completed in six days, the very idea was ridiculous.

upon an approved philosophical principle, hundreds of them were ordered before a single one had been tried ; and a book was kept for the purpose, so overwhelming was the number of applicants. As soon as tried, it proved to be false in principle and useless, and fatal to life in several instances. When a new flying machine is invented, a bill is brought into parliament to establish a company for the use of it, before it has been tried. Is not this the most foolish generation ?

Philosophy degenerates into the most puerile of all pursuits, if it is pursued lightly and popularly. It is often so with those who seem to have attained to the greatest proficiency in it. Philosophy, in its endeavour to generalize, blunts the perceptions of weak men to differences, and breaks down distinctions ; in which true wisdom, and good sense in action, consist. This disposition leads to indifference, indiscrimination, and scepticism. Philosophy supersedes history and facts, to suit its systems. Aristotle, as before observed, denied the creation of the world ; Pythagoras the use of sacrifices ; Epicurus the providence of God. It is philosophers who have said that the world was made by chance. Philosophy, in all times, refuses belief to those matters which do not come within present experience,—and says, “ All things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation.”*

* The apostle of infidelity said that the life of man was just like that of animals and vegetables—that man was the happiest because he lived the longest:—the long lives of deer, crows, &c. being fabulous. Thus he set aside facts, like other philosophers, to suit his shallow theory.

Niebuhr did not look upon the Bible as an authority and a history ;

To assist us in generalizing, philosophy removes out of the way all phenomena which are not of the most simple kind, and which might impede our generalizations. Thus the passions and affections are excluded by modern philosophers, as unfit to take their part in the affairs of life, and the processes of reasoning; as Epicurus excluded the hand of Providence from human events; as philosophy in general excludes faith as a motive and place of standing; and as the sceptic and rationalist omits the influence of the Holy Spirit, as a guide and instructor and assistant to judgment, and thought, and action.* It is plain that if an item be left out in calculation, or a premiss in reasoning, the conclusions and conduct must be erroneous; and that in proportion to the multiplication of the reasoning, and the extent to which it is carried out, and the self-confidence of judgment and action.†

But this is the ordinary course. Philosophy has endeavoured to separate and exclude conscience and religion from politics, and moral from political character. No one now looks for a good and religious man for a statesman, or thinks him the better for so being. No

and he constantly speaks of the many original races of men. Malthus never refers to the Bible as opposing his theories, either to explain or answer it.

* The world by wisdom knows not man;—the world by wisdom knows not God.

† Our Lord, it seems, prescribed the limits to philosophy, and proved its insufficiency in a few words, when he said, “The wind bloweth (the spirit inspireth) where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound (or voice) thereof, but thou *canst not* tell whence it cometh, or whither it goeth, (namely, reason out the operations of it.)”

one now says in Christendom, as was formerly said in an idolatrous country, "Can we find such a one as this is : a man in whom the spirit of God is?" And it is most singular and awful, that the age and political school which have most endeavoured to separate religion and moral character from statesmen and the departments of government, should be the same which have arrogated to the government the duty of educating the people.

Philosophy ever tends to blunt men's minds to delicate and essential distinctions ; which are the very points which exercise and perfect their wisdom, and make their actions higher and better than those of a machine, and their thoughts than those of a brute. Philosophy has always tended to profane the sanctity of female character, and to quench that superstitious reverence which is needful to guard it.* Crime is palliated at the present day by free discussion and reasoning upon it ; so that the causes and motives becoming part of every investigation, it is like to result in general impunity. Demoralizing laws and regulations are palliated, by reasoning upon the necessity of raising the public revenue ; cruelty towards the poor and the labouring population is palliated and approved, by reasoning upon the processes of manufacture and trade, and the theory of markets. If a clergyman talks of cruelty to labourers and oppression of the poor, what, it is asked, have the clergy to do with political economy ? Modern theorists reason from the spade to the steam

* Lycurgus, Plato, Mr. Owen, and the Poor Law Commissioners, are examples of this.

engine ; from the needle to the machinery that makes the needle, without distinction or discrimination.* We confound religious teaching with moral and philosophical ; moral with industrial ; industry with arts ; and art with sciences ; and reason from one to the other as if they were the same thing. We do not see any distinction between flogging a boy for lying or swearing or stealing, and for not learning his grammar perfectly.† Political philosophy says of the differences of creeds and sects, "What is truth?" A senator is reported to have said in his place, "Surely it was as important to preserve men's lives as their souls." M. Guizot declares, "It is essential that Catholicism, Protestantism, and philosophy, should live harmoniously in the bosom of French nationality."‡ Among the steps which philosophy paved for the French Revolution and national infidelity, the Academy of General Education was established in Germany, uniting the three communions : namely, in a rational deism.§

Smyth's Lectures afford another example of the indif-

* Let me here notice one distinction among others. The needle, the spade, the knife, the hand-loom, and the spinning wheel, enable us to do things more perfectly, and that which we could not otherwise do at all ; the button-shank machine, the lace-making machine, the power-loom, the spinning-jenny, only do the same things which may be done without them, and for the most part they do them more imperfectly.

† "The *moral* education of the people is the first duty of a government ; and therefore the government ought to establish a fixed system of *secular* education." (*Mr. Hume*, House of Commons, March 24th, 1843.) Though nowhere so shortly expressed, this is the substance of the majority of the speeches delivered in that debate.

‡ Quoted, Bickersteth's *Dangers of the Church of Christ*, p. 8.

§ Kett on Prophecy, ii. 172.

ferentism of the most studious philosophers. After portraying the prominent features of the most eventful passages in the world's history, he concludes with some such remarks as this, "After all, this is only human nature, which is the same in all ages:"—instead of pointing out, that peculiar passions and principles prevail and have their development and their judgment, at particular places, and periods of the world's history. Mr. Wilberforce makes the like charge against Robertson, the historian, for the indifference to essential truth, shown by him in his phlegmatic account of the Reformation, and in his letters to Gibbon. And he instances him as only one of a class of eminent literary characters.*

It is the universal consent of the powers in Christendom, that all the people must be educated. This principle has in it all the essentials of the spirit of philosophy which has been described; and is the same in character, though now set upon a broader and surer basis, as that reasoning spirit which laid the foundation of the French Revolution, and led to all its atrocities. The idea of knowledge which is entertained by those who are the leaders of this division of the armies of the evil one, and are enforcing the necessity of education upon us, and organizing this attack, is an abstract idea of knowledge. They reverence it as a thing good *per se*, and powerful to save in itself, irrespective of application to particular ends, for the promotion of particular callings and arts of life. The notion of its being used only for the promotion of trades and professions, is contemned and

* Practical Christianity, ch. vi.

scouted. Learning and science is in itself the direct means of enlarging and elevating, and giving moral discipline and improvement to the mind.

These philosophers, as usual, are not careful to distinguish one kind of learning from another. No: with them, as with the rest, the subject they delight in is an idea, and an abstraction. These are not willing or able of themselves, and their captive panic-struck opponents have not yet the courage to see and say, that their proposition contains two distinct elements; and that they confound essentially opposite principles. They have not yet courage to discern between, and separate from one another, and set in opposition, science—and moral discipline: learning—and conduct: knowledge—and action: both which have been confounded, blindly but insidiously, by the agents of this evil, under the terms training and education. These are antagonist forces. The one is of God, and of wisdom, and truth:—the other is of the devil. The one is as much of the world, and of the flesh, as power, and strength, and authority, and pleasure, and riches:—which are temptations in themselves, and tend to evil; and must be opposed and counteracted and brought into obedience by the other, as an antagonist, healing principle.

Hitherto we have only thought to say timidly, and sought to have it believed, that religious and moral training are a part of education, and must not be left out; and so we have endeavoured, and with some success, to creep in the essential,—as a subsidiary, and handmaid, and help-meet of the emissary of the evil one, which has usurped the prerogative and dominion.

The Tree of Knowledge is set over against the Tree of Life : as antagonist to it. Religion is not the *basis* of secular education, as it is said to be : it is the antidote to it. What has reasoning to do with faith ? What have the instruments of worldly ambition to do with hope ? What has grammar to do with love and concord between man and man ? What has the doctrine of markets to do with controlling covetousness ? What has skill in handicrafts and apprenticeship in a trade, to do with keeping holy the Sabbath ? What has geography, with the way to the heavenly city ? What geometry, with the rightly dividing the word of truth ? What astronomy, with the knowledge of heavenly things, and the attainment of wisdom in “the heavenly places ?”

It is true that learning is one of those domains which must in the end be subjected to the dominion of Christ, and is the arena of one of His conquests ; and Knowledge, like the merchandise of Tyre, “shall be holiness to the Lord.” And the church is even now, as ever, checking its ambitious career ; and foiling its insidious attacks ; and turning its two-edged weapons against itself ; and entangling it in its own ambushments ; and leading it on to its own inevitable overthrow and self-destruction. The histories and researches of sceptics have, in fulfilment of this divine purpose, constantly furnished the most piercing weapons against themselves, and the materials for new outworks to the city of our Zion. But the preparing of a wall of offence against the city of truth, is no less an impiety to be punished, because in the end it provides the timber and stones

for two walls in its defence ;*—and the invasion of sin is no less sinful, or its assaults to be deprecated, because it is in making its attacks that it meets with its most signal defeats, and most disastrous punishment. Its overthrow is not effected without the loss of multitudes, who are found weakly guarded in the ranks of truth ; as we now find many even of the clergy, and of zealously devoted men in the desire of the right way, who espouse the cause of education in the abstract : as the same classes of men were of late urgent in their condemnation of the poor ; and, with the watch-word of benevolence in their mouths, wrote earnestly and eagerly, to slander their character, to dissuade from all kindly affection and liberality towards them, to recommend mistrust of them, and severity, as a virtue and a duty.†

Let not these men remain in like manner deceived

* 2 Chron. xvi. 6.

† We find such expressions as these in the mouths of the best disposed.—“ Ignorance is the great cause of crime.” “ Education is the main thing necessary.” “ A larger cultivation of the minds of the people.” “ The educated man is the best and safest in every country.” (Lord Ashley.) “ I go heartily along with the noble lord (Ashley) in considering that the ignorance of the people is the great evil of our time.” (Mr. C. Buller.) One of the most morally disposed journals has these expressions, within a very few lines. “ There are few of us who have such demands upon our time, that we cannot pluck some few leaves of ‘ *the tree of knowledge*.’ ” “ A great society, from which ignorance should be altogether excluded, would possess a general freedom from vice, such as no human society has ever yet enjoyed.” “ Banish ignorance, and vice will almost die of inanition.” (*Standard*, March, 27, 1843.) And again, “ the idle rich, who, after all, are the great teachers of refinement, and through refinement the pioneers of sound morality.”—*Ibid.* April 7, 1843.

with respect to education. The education proposed and intended by its modern advocates is worldly, devilish. It is the spirit as well as the language of the heathen philosopher revived, when he exclaimed "Educate your children."* The Duke of Wellington, who is at least

* I am sure to be misunderstood on this head; therefore I will add one other explanation. I have been asked, "Do you say then, that every learned man is a worse man for being learned?" I answer, by asking, "Can a rich man be saved?" With God it is possible. But it is more difficult. It is a worldly object and endowment; and as such it is fraught with temptation, and danger, and difficulty. But the conquering this increased difficulty may be a greater crown. Such an one may have added ten talents.

Without admitting that knowledge is not a greater evil than riches, I will, for the sake of present illustration, put them in the same place.

It is to be recollected, that the present proposition is, that knowledge will make men better, and better citizens (I must not say subjects), and happier. If riches make men better, and better subjects, and happier, then knowledge perhaps may do so. If it is the duty of the State to make men rich, and to force increase of riches,—not to govern and direct the use of them,—then it may be the duty of the State to impart knowledge. If it is the business of the clergy to encourage men to become rich, then may it be their business to promote secular learning; and not only to direct the use, and counteract the abuse, and to bring it into subjection to the kingdom of Christ.

Of course in the same proportion as the clergy should be the instructors in the arts of making rich, these arts are likely to be divested of some of their evil tendency and to be unsecularized.—In like manner, the teaching of secular learning is likely to be less prejudicial in their hands. To a great extent they have already arrogated to themselves this office with success. But the chief promoters of secular learning, for its own true ends, are jealous of this pretension; and here is one chief subject of debate and struggle at this time. The offices and interference of the Church have in a great measure counteracted and consecrated the natural tendencies of learning and knowledge.—But it is above all things essential, that the clergy should know what their proper part is; and what the real properties of the subject which they have to deal with.

the greatest master mind which this generation has seen in worldly affairs, has said, "If you give the people education without religion, you will make them a nation of devils." He saw practically the tendency of the scheme which that school of political philosophers are drawing out. They pretend not to be staggered by such a remark. For they pretend willingly to concede this point, of using religion as a part of their system, so long as it is not discovered to be an antagonist principle, and used as an antidote and corrective of their system. For this purpose they willingly confuse the essences and distinctions of the two things, and gladly keep and use, and contemplate their idol education, as an idea and an abstraction.

The king of Prussia said with plainer truth, "The present system of education makes people feel that they helped God to make the world." This is a true picture of it. The language which is constant in the mouths of those men, who, as a school, are its chief admirers and promoters, is, that they are fellow-workers with God: that they are fellow-labourers with Christ: that the religion which was published by Our Lord Jesus Christ was but a step; and that they are making good another and a better step, and are perfecting Christianity. The "illuminism," which, as a school and doctrine, prepared the way for the revolutionary theism, was called "the perfection of Christianity."*

The whole system is the same; and is leading us on to another establishment of the reign of reason, and

* Kett on Proph. ii. 174.

revolutionary madness and infidelity. "Science had never attained a more commanding station, than in France at the close of the eighteenth century." It was the educated and the learned who condemned religion, and denied and put down Christianity in that country. It was reason triumphing.* Speaking of Collins, Bolingbroke, Bayle, Fontenelle, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Kett says of them, they adopted "the words of reason, toleration, humanity, as their signal and call to arms."†

Philosophy is now, and ever, what it is described by M. Guizot, "that which admits not under any name or form, a faith obligatory to human thought; and in religious as well as other matters leaves it free to believe or not to believe, and to direct itself by its own labour."‡ It is the same which has exhibited the Unitarians and "the doctors of Zurich, with scissors

* The seemingly abandoned doctrine of "sufficient reason" is still the same which governs us. We see no reason why riches should demoralize us; why luxury should injure the poor; why knowledge should make the mind irreligious. We do not see how national virtue should make us strong; how sabbath-keeping should make us rich; how religious rulers should make us prosperous.

† Kett on Proph. ii. 155. "The Bishop of Meaux, and the learned Grotius, supposed the second beast in Revelations to denote philosophy 'falsely so called.' Dr. Hartley, in the conclusion of his Observations on Man, considers infidelity as the beast. Sir I. Newton and Dr. Clarke interpreted 'the reign of the beast' to be the open avowal of infidelity. They further conjectured that the state of religion in France, and the manners of the age, combined with the divine oracles to announce the approaching reign of the beast. And they considered it as probable, that the ecclesiastical constitution of France would soon be subverted, and that the standard of infidelity would first be set up there."—*Ibid.* i. 389, 390.

‡ Quoted, Bickersteth's *Dangers of the Church of Christ*, p. 8.

in hand, cutting out the spurious passages from the Apostle's writings;”*—and which warranted the Rationalist Puritans of the Commonwealth in objecting to the Lord's Prayer, that Our Lord Jesus Christ “made it in his minority, before he was arrived at his full perfection.”† Philosophy is ever proud, conceited, selfish, cruel, tyrannical, independent, blind, devoid of wisdom: regarding neither God nor man: sacrificing the happiness and blood of men to an opinion and an abstraction, and thousands to a thesis.

This reasoning, conceited, self-satisfied, independent spirit has been growing upon us for years, and is still growing, under the passion for education which is hurrying us away and possessing us; and unless counteracted, or at least mastered, and regulated by a higher principle, must prematurely hurry us into foolishness and decrepitude.‡

* Theopneustia, by M. Gaussen.

† Fuller's Triple Reconciler, p. 130, edit. 1654.

‡ That education does not tend to make people better subjects, and to deter them from crime, but the reverse, has been shown by Mr. Alison; who has collected several examples and authorities to that effect, at least as strong as any which have been brought to prove the opposite proposition. The following are some extracts from his work on Population.

“If it is expected that the enjoyments of knowledge are to counteract, in the *majority* of the lower orders, the desire for gratifications of a baser kind, or to check the growth of vicious desires, in the active as well as the speculative portion of mankind, effects are anticipated from its diffusion contrary alike to reason and to experience. If any one were to propose, by a system of education, to counteract the passions, or give a new direction to the desires of the *higher orders*

I look upon the raging thirst after knowledge and science as being the crowning heresy and apostasy of

generally, he would be immediately regarded as a visionary enthusiast."—vol. ii. p. 91.

"Scotland (so frequently referred to), demonstrates the inefficiency of education to arrest the progress of evil in a complicated state of society.

"In the contest with whisky in their crowded population, education has been utterly overthrown."—ii. 96.

"In England, it has been completely established, by the evidence laid before several parliamentary committees, that the education of the lower orders has had no effect whatever in checking the progress of crime.—*Report on Crime*, 1828; *Evidence before Combination Committee*, 1838, p. 97, 169."

"The number of individuals charged with serious offences is in England *five* times greater than it was thirty years ago; in Ireland *six* times; but in Scotland *twenty-nine* times.—*Moreau*, p. 98, 317."

"M. Guerry has pointed out, that the great majority of the licentious females of Paris come from the northern and most highly educated provinces of France.

"Over education is the common source of the passions to which they owe their ruin; it is the desire for immediate enjoyment,—a thirst for the pleasures and luxuries of the affluent,—the love of dress, ornament, and gaiety, which are the prevailing motives that lead almost all young women astray. How much must the sway of such impulses be increased, by the superficial and exciting reading which the usual trash to be found in circulating libraries affords in so overwhelming a proportion." (ii. 314.) And he adds the details of ten circulating libraries in London; from which it appears, that there are only 27 volumes on morality and religion in them, and above 1500 fashionable, indifferent and libertine novels.

"If any person would wish to know to what, in a highly civilized and opulent community, the general extension of simply intellectual cultivation will lead, he has only to look at the books found at Pompeii; ninety-nine-hundredths of which relate exclusively to subjects of gastronomy or obscenity; or to the present novels and dramatic literature in France, in which all the efforts of genius, and all the powers of fancy,

the present generation. Among other signs, it is its boast to "bring down fire from heaven on the earth in

are employed only to heighten the desires, prolong the excitement, and throw a romantic cover over the gratification of the senses."—ii. 302.

"Parliamentary return of crimes tried in Scotland, 1837, and 1838.

Uneducated . . . 1836 . . . 693 1837 . . . 551.

Educated . . . 1836 . . . 2360 1837 . . . 2793.

"Therefore, the uneducated were not one-fifth of the educated; and the former are decreasing, and the latter increasing."—ii. 318.

"By the criminal returns in France, in the whole eighty-six departments, it has been found, that with hardly one exception, the amount of crime is *just in proportion* to the degree of instruction which prevails."

"We do not think that you can attribute the diminution of crime in the north to instruction, because, in Connecticut, where there is far more instruction than in New York, crime increases with a terrible rapidity; and if you cannot accuse knowledge as the cause of this, one is obliged to acknowledge, that it is not a preventive. *Beaumont and Tocqueville on the Penitentiary System of the U. S.* 147."—ii. 320.

"In Sweden, in 1837, 1 in 460 were punished for criminal offences. Of those living in towns, 1 in 78. These numbers are considerably higher than the worst parts of Great Britain.

"In Norway, in 1835, 1 in 457 were committed for criminal offences.

"Yet both Norway and Sweden are in a very high degree educated countries; instruction is universal."—ii. 327.

"Without taking into consideration the prodigious influence of this new element (the extension of knowledge), which has now for the first time been let loose in human affairs, it is impossible to account for the extraordinary demoralization of the lower orders, during the last twenty years; and the extent to which the licentiousness and profligacy in that class now press, not only against the barriers of government, but the restraints of religion, the precepts of virtue, and even the ordinary decorum of society."—ii. 341.

The whole chapter on education occupies from p. 292 to 346 of his second volume.

The Chaplain of the Lewes House of Correction reports (1842),

the sight of men.”* “*Eripuit cælo fulmen,*” is placed, for inscription, over Dr. Franklin’s monumental bust.

We are children in wisdom and good sense, with the pride and obstinacy of old men. The prevailing independence of mind and reason is well illustrated, and its value and consequences shown, by the state of discipline and conduct of our troops during the Peninsular war. They were bold and irresistible in fight ; but they could bear neither victory nor defeat ; both equally disorganized them :—so that after a victory the success could not be followed up, and on a retreat they strayed in disobedience of orders, and were cut off by hundreds. “No officer or man,” says the Duke of Wellington in his despatches, “ever reads an order or regulation for the purpose of obeying it :—at most it is a subject of curiosity and a habit.”† Each man thought that the war depended upon himself ; and that with his few men he could drive the French out of Spain, and finish the war ; and by his rashness and disobedience to command deranged the general operations, of which he understood nothing. The man of true and consummate wisdom thus writes respecting one of them : “I am sorry to be obliged to express my disapprobation of the conduct of an officer of whom I have always entertained a good

that the worst crimes have been committed by the most educated prisoners.

Every faithful inquiry will bring us nearer and nearer to this truth, that knowledge tends more to the increase of crime than the diminution of it.

* Rev. xiii. 13.

† Despatches of Duke of Wellington, Lesaca, 18th July, 1813.

opinion ; but I must say, that it is unworthy of one of his reputation to get his brigade into scrapes, for the sake of the little *gloriole* of driving in a few piquets, knowing, as he must do, that it is not intended that he should engage in a serious affair ; and that, whenever he becomes engaged with a body of any strength, the retreat with honour is difficult, and without loss is impossible. I hope that * * * will reflect upon what has passed, and observe in future that what he can do that is best, is to obey the orders, and execute strictly the designs, of his commander.” *

This is the mutinous and proud spirit of modern knowledge and freedom. That which thus showed itself in this war, equally shows itself in all other departments, —of morals and science, of church and state, of religion and politics. Every one is planning and carrying on his little independent war, of universal religion, and politics, and morals, and philanthropy ; and aiming at universal conquest,—his own private *gloriole*,—from his own little narrow mistaken view, and puerile exertions. Each one must be doing some great thing, in a great and distant sphere, while the same occasions at home, and before his eyes, are despised and neglected :—in charity, in education, in commerce and trade, and universal benevolence. Public institutions must be planned, while the private poor are neither clothed nor fed ; foreign stocks and mines and markets must be traded in,—the more distant and unknown the more desirable ;

* Duke of Wellington's Despatches ; Vera, 10th Oct. 1813.

foreign missions must be sent out at vast cost, while we have at home our heathenism ; West Indian slaves must be emancipated, while we have at home our factories and factory children. “ Wisdom is before [the eyes of] him that hath understanding ; but the eyes of the fool are in the ends of the earth.” We know as it were nothing of the great designs and the operations of God ; yet we shape the course of the universe, as well as our own course, by our own wisdom. We are utterly ignorant of them all. If we simply obeyed the commands of God, without improving or questioning them, all our whole course would be successful and prosperous, and the divine will and operations would be performed and perfected. But no man reads a law or command of God except for curiosity, and with the thought of improving upon it. Our own inventions are acted upon : the scheme and order of God’s system is unperformed : we ourselves are made rebellious, and wicked, and miserable : our wisdom is proved folly ; our sight, blindness ; our virtue, sin ; our happiness, torment ; our system is disorder ; our conquest, defeat ; and there is no repentance, or return, or recovery, or retreat from the rack which we have made for ourselves, and the ruin of our own hands, to order and rest :—“ God made man upright, but he has sought out many inventions.”

The fruit of the Tree of Knowledge is ever the same,—in the mouth it is sweet as honey,—in the belly it is bitter as wormwood. Knowledge is pleasant to the eyes, and tempting to the appetite ; but it is never sa-

tisfying, never complete; and incomplete it is an arch without a key-stone, and must fall to ruin. Our pursuit of Knowledge will make us fools and blind.—Our pursuit of Liberty will make us slaves.—Our pursuit of Money and Wealth will make us beggars. Like scorpions, when surrounded by the fires of trouble, we shall be our own enemy,—we shall turn our own power and venom back against ourselves, and sting ourselves to death.

ESSAY XVIII.

THE NUMBER OF THE BEAST.

"HIS NUMBER IS SIX HUNDRED THREESCORE AND SIX."—REV. xiii. 18.

I HAVE now arrived at the completion of my present undertaking. I have descended into the lower parts of the earth; and have reviewed the hideous forms and fiery engines that are arrayed, and ready to invade the fairest parts of the habitable earth; to devour like a flame, and to turn the garden of Eden before them into a desolate wilderness. It has been a loathsome and a hateful task.—God knoweth! Having ventured down the dark descent, in this manner, may I henceforth reascend, and revisit the regions of light, and happiness, and goodness.

But who is captain of this host; and what is the standard and ensign, round which all these forces rally and dispose themselves? Behold her image! which is Gold: which has power given to it.—Behold her sitting upon a scarlet-coloured beast; and in her hand a golden cup full of filthiness of fornication:—her coffer of gold, wherewith she fornicates with all the kingdoms of the earth,—wherewith she buys and trades in the merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and

scarlet, and all thyine wood, and all manner vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble, and cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and bodies and souls of men.

Alas, alas, for in one hour so great riches are come to nought !

Surely these great riches are without end ; and without measure ; and their top to heaven :—surely they are unnumbered, and without limit, and inexhaustible ! No !—they are *numbered*, and weighed, and found wanting, and divided, and scattered.

The number of his name is the number of gold :—for his name is Gold, and Mammon. His name is thrice the number of imperfection : even Six, Six, Six.* The number of the beast “is the number of a man,” even Solomon ;—and his number is Six Hundred Threescore and Six.

Solomon is generally considered to be a type of the Gentile Church triumphant ; as David was a type of the Church persecuted and militant. Saul was the Jewish Church : adorned chiefly with outward graces ; and rejected for the spiritually-minded David, when he himself had first rejected the word of the Lord, and denied him before the Gentiles.† But David was a man

* As the imperfect “manner of the Purification of the Jews,” under the ceremonial law, was signified by “*Six* waterpots of stone ;” while the Purification of the Holy Spirit is always typified by the perfect number *Seven*.

† 1 Sam. xv. 23, 24.

of war during his whole life ; and might not therefore be the builder of the Lord's house.

Solomon is the Gentile Christian Church, in the days of her glory : and after she has had rest. Let us compare Solomon's glory with the glory of commercial Christendom, since the period of the Reformation.

Solomon was pre-eminent in wisdom and riches. He chose wisdom as his chief good ; and he received riches also, and honour, in addition, beyond all other kings and kingdoms upon the earth. Our chief desire has been after wisdom and knowledge ; and we have not failed to attain to a correspondent pre-eminence in honour and riches. The first act of Solomon's reign was to change the high-priest ; and restore, as it is observed, the ancient order of the priesthood. His temple also was more famous for riches, and outward beauty, than for spiritual gifts. We have deposed and changed our chief-priest, for his usurpation, and set up another ; and we have reduced our worship and faith to architectural symmetry and motionless stability. There were ten candlesticks in Solomon's temple, and ten tables, and ten lavers :—the number of multitude :—typifying the division of the Church of Christ as it now consists, of multitudes of churches, and sects, and forms of worship. Solomon traded with all the kingdoms of the world for all their wares and products ; and his country was the emporium and place of transit for every sort and kind of luxury and merchandise. He derived a great part of his revenue from Ophir,—which is, the East Indies. Solomon extended his empire from sea to sea : from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean : “ from the flood unto

the world's end." Solomon was admired and congratulated and visited by foreign princes, on his accession, for the sake of his riches and wisdom and glory.—“King Solomon exceeded all the kings of the earth for riches and for wisdom; and all the earth sought to Solomon, to hear his wisdom.”—England in like manner was visited by different crowned heads, when she likewise came to her glory and power at the end of the late war,—when commerce triumphed over martial force,—and took the kingdom. Solomon entered into treaty with many kings.—And all the kingdoms of the world agree to give their power and strength unto the beast, and to receive his law, and to follow his standard; till, in the end, in like manner, they shall hate the whore, and make her desolate and naked, and eat her flesh, and burn her with fire.

Solomon's heart was lifted up, and became elated by his riches and power; and he broke his trust, and left his first love, and became the great fornicator. It was riches that caused Solomon to be drunk with indulgence and lust;* and the filthiness of his fornications corrupted his heart, and destroyed his power, and undermined his wisdom; his haughtiness and pride turned his former friends into enemies, and set the ten tribes and all the other nations against his kingdom. It was his Gold

* “D. Greg. Nyssen. ait, ap. Eccles. ii. 8, ‘Auri et argenti copiae addidit turpitudinem, quæ morbum, qui prius evaserat, solet deinde consequi: Fecit, inquit, cantores et cantatrices, quæ convivarum sunt deliciae; sufficit mentio nominum ad describendum vitium, ad quod etiam munit morbus, qui oritur ex copia pecuniæ.’ Copia enim auri ad delicias trahit.”—*Sylveira in Apocalypsin*, p. 255, 43, Fol. Venet. 1728.

which became Solomon's god, and corrupted his mind, and took away from him his power and wisdom.

What then was the number of Solomon's gold ?
“ Now the weight of gold that came to Solomon in one year was **SIX HUNDRED THREESCORE** and **SIX** talents of Gold.”*

* 1 Kings, x. 14 ; 2 Chron. ix. 13. I am fortified in this interpretation of the number, Six Hundred and Sixty Six, by an analogous interpretation of the “ One Hundred and Fifty Three ” fishes which our Lord's disciples took in the lake of Genneseret, after his resurrection. Sir George Rose, in his Scriptural Researches, interprets this of the final conversion of the Gentile nations ; and he supports this opinion by the circumstance, that the number of strangers in Israel in the reign of Solomon—which is typical of the pacific reign of Christ—was One Hundred and Fifty Three thousand, and some hundreds.

THE END.

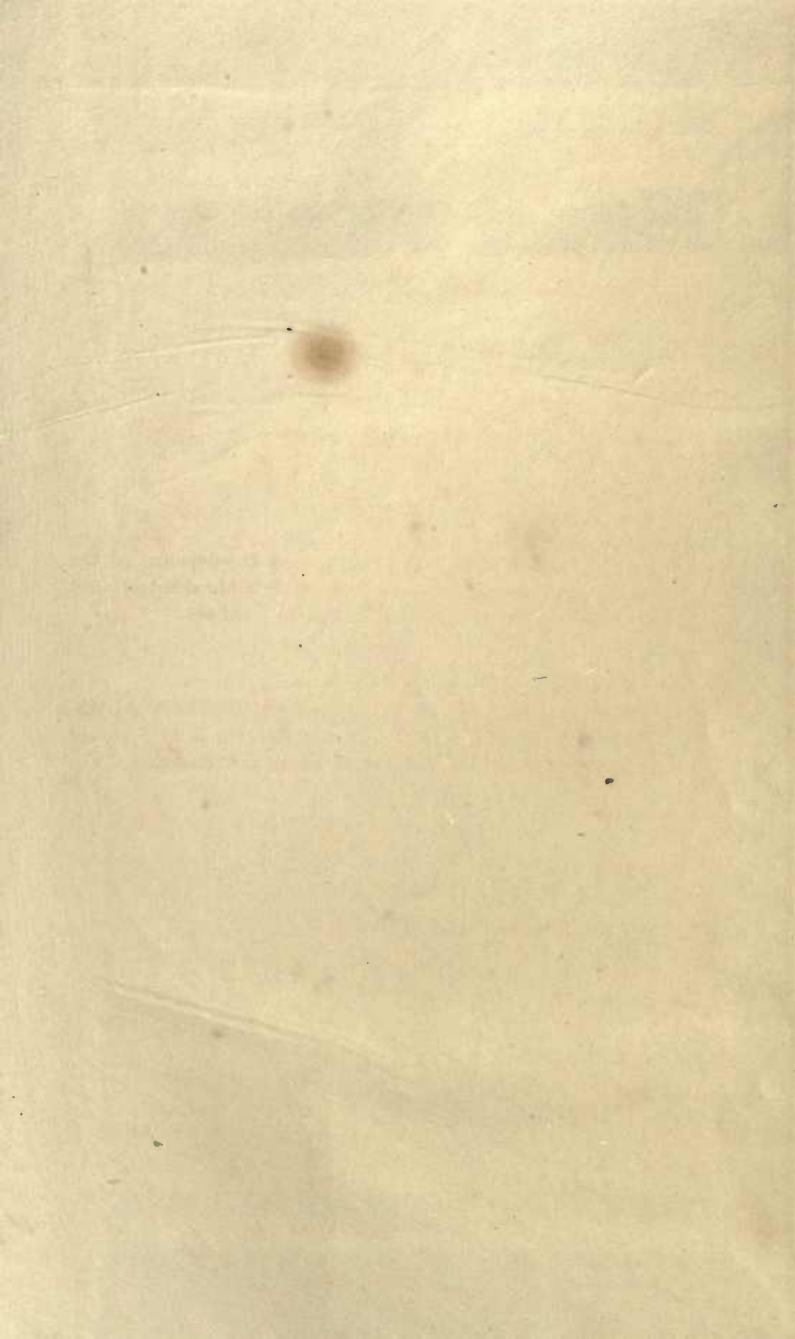
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